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BOSTON ABOUT 1806.

THE
BOSTONIAN
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VOL. 4



BOSTON
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NEW ENGLAND GUARDS

BY

JAMES B. GARDNER.



THE NEW ENGLAND GUARDS.



NEW ENGLAND GUARDS

A PAPER READ TO THE BOSTONIAN SOCIETY, COUNCIL CHAMBER, OLD
STATE HOUSE, OCTOBER 14, 1884, BY

JAMES B. GARDNER.



AMONG the many organizations in which Bostonians took special pride and interest during the past century was the New England Guards, a military organization formed in 1812 for service in the war with Great Britain, terminating its existence towards the close of our Civil War, and which, subsequent to 1860, was familiarly known as the "Fourth Battalion."

The records of the Company from its organization to 1845 have been preserved, and are in the custody of the Bostonian Society. Those subsequent to that year were destroyed in the fire of November 9 and 10, 1872. After the dissolution of the Company all its books and

papers were placed in charge of Captain J. Putnam Bradlee. By a singular chance Mr. George A. Simmons, of Roxbury, a former member of the Guards, wishing to ascertain some facts relative to its early history, had, a few days previous to the fire, borrowed these records from Captain Bradlee, and so they were saved from destruction. From these, from conversations with the older members, — many of whom were personal acquaintances and one or two were relatives, — and from his own recollections of events during his brief connection with the Battalion, the writer has compiled this paper.

Although previous meetings had undoubtedly been held (a page or two of the records are missing), the first recorded was that of September 3, 1812, at which it was announced that the "Selectmen of the Town of Boston" had granted one of the rooms in Faneuil Hall to be used by the proposed Company for an armory.

In obedience to an order from Brigade Head Quarters, dated September 8, 1812, Lemuel Blake and Nathan Hale notified all the petitioners to meet at Concert Hall, Boston, on Tuesday, September 22, to organize a company to be attached to the Second Regiment, Third Brigade, First Division, of the Militia of the Commonwealth.

Several meetings were held previous to that for organization, at which all preliminary matters, such as Constitution, nominations, etc., were discussed and ar-

ranged. On September 22, 1812, the petitioners met as ordered, and the "New England Guards" was formally organized. Samuel Swett was elected Captain; George Sullivan, Lieutenant; and Lemuel Blake, Ensign. At an adjourned meeting on September 24, James Dalton was elected first sergeant; Stephen G. Brown, second; William Ward, third; and Isaac Mansfield, fourth. Charles Burrell was chosen armorer. Five days later Robert M. Barnard, Charles Barrell, Aaron Peabody and Charles Tidd were elected corporals.

On September 25, a Constitution was adopted, the Preamble of which is as follows:—

To facilitate the performance of the duty we owe to our country, of adding to our character as citizens some portion of the skill of the soldier, to increase our usefulness as militiamen by adding to the zeal which is excited by patriotism the ardour which is inspired by emulation, and to give to each one of us while exerting himself for his own and the State's defence that confidence in each other's zealous and skillful cooperation which can result only from military discipline, we have voluntarily associated ourselves for the purpose of forming a Company of Light Infantry, and to govern us in pursuit of these objects have adopted the following articles for our government.

The Constitution was very long; it contained twenty separate articles, and covered fully almost every subject that could be considered. A favorable vote of five-

sixths of the members was required to elect a candidate. It specified very minutely the duties of all the officers and the uniform adopted. A clause defining the duties of the Orderly Sergeant reminds us how inadequate were the local postal facilities one hundred years ago :

He shall notify all the members of every meeting by signing a written or printed notification which he shall seasonably deliver to the other sergeants and corporals in equal parts; and it is hereby declared to be their duty to deliver the said notifications without delay to the members to whom they are directed.

This regulation remained in force until the meeting on December 5, 1829, when the Orderly Sergeant was authorized to hire a messenger to deliver these notices.

The uniform is specified as

A plain, dark blue coat, double breasted, with gilt buttons; white waistcoat; white pantaloons; blue cloth pantaloons; half boots with black tassels; round hat with a black leather cockade, a yellow eagle in the centre, and a gold loop extending down to the band; a black silk stock. . . .

The question of uniform was evidently considered of great importance, as page after page of the records is devoted to this subject; minor changes were continually made, and several times the change was very radical. After reading these discussions one must be convinced that women can not claim a monopoly of interest in the "dress question."

To ensure prompt and regular attendance it was provided that any member neglecting to attend a public parade till after roll call should be fined one dollar; if absent all day, five dollars. To be absent from a private meeting cost fifty cents, and tardiness was excused by payment of twelve and a half cents. To leave a public parade without consent of the commanding officer cost five dollars, but if it were a private meeting the charge was but fifty cents. If a member absented himself from the Town of Boston without a furlough, for a term exceeding three months, the fine was two dollars; and for failure to report within six days after his return from furlough the fine was the same. The yearly dues were eight dollars, payable semi-annually.

As a matter of record and one of interest to those who personally recollect many of the members, the names of those who signed the roll previous to January 1, 1813, are given below:—

1812		Sept. 23	Masa Willis
Sept. 22	Samuel Swett	" 23	Robt P. Williams
" 22	George Sullivan	" 23	Reuben Richards, jr.
" 22	Lemuel Blake	" 23	Samuel W. Kendal
" 23	James Dalton	" 23	Montgomery Newell
" 23	Stephen Gore Brown	" 23	Aaron Peabody
" 23	William Ward	" 23	Chas. Tidd
" 23	Isaac Mansfield	" 23	David Swift
" 23	R. M. Barnard	" 23	Jno. Howe, jr.
" 24	Charles Barrell	" 23	William G. Hewes
" 23	George Dana	" 23	Geo. Foster

Sept. 23	Rufus Rice	Sept. 23	Samuel Marsh
" 23	Benj. C. Ward	" 23	Deming Jarves
" 23	Jarvis Clapp	" 23	Seth Peirce
" 23	Moses Grant, jr.	" 23	Lorenzo Draper
" 23	Thomas Power	" 23	Eben ^r Whiting
" 23	Geo. Todd	" 23	Caleb Adams
Oct. 2	Richard Ward	" 23	John Miller
Sept. 23	*Abbott Lawrence	" 23	Jona ^a G. Barnard
" 23	H. Wentworth	" 23	R. W. Trevett
" 23	Shirley Erving, jr.	" 23	John B. Brown
" 23	Isaac Bangs	" 23	Samuel R. Allen
" 24	Wm. Greenough, jr.	" 23	Thomas Dennie, jr.
" 23	Fredk W. Athearn	Oct. 2	Joseph Callender, jr.
" 23	Chris ^r Gore, jr.	Sept. 23	Saml L. Abbot
" 23	Ozias Goodwin	" 23	Samuel Horton, jr.
" 23	John Gallison	" 23	Cheever Newhall
" 23	Jere Gore	" 23	Eben ^r Wild
" 23	†Jos. B. Henshaw	" 23	‡Nathan Hale
" 23	Watson Gore	Oct. 16	John Gulliver
" 23	Hez ^h Blanchard	Sept. 23	Joshua B. Bacon
" 23	Sargent Smith Little- hale	" 23	Charles Scudder
" 24	Edwin Blake	Oct. 16	James E. Avery
" 23	Wm. B. Callender	Sept. 23	George Odin
		" 23	John A. Walsh

Previous to the Declaration of Peace in February, 1815, sixty others had joined the Guards, among whom

* Subsequently Minister to England.

† Afterwards Collector of the Port of Boston.

‡ Journalist, and father of Rev. Edward Everett Hale.

were Joseph West, Jr.,* Samuel Hunt,† Jeffrey Richardson,‡ Barney Tisdale, Sam'l Hopkins, Isaac Child and Joseph Hay.§

The Guards met frequently, sometimes daily, for drill. On November 19, its first parade, the corps turned out with fifty-six men, and marched through State street, Cornhill (now Washington street) and Winter street to the residence of Gen. Arnold Welles, on Park street. He had formerly been a commander of the Cadets, and was a warm friend and adviser of the Guards from the beginning: on this occasion he presented them with an "Elegant Standard." A few extracts from the presentation speech may appropriately be given:—

In a free Republic a permanent or standing military force has been considered dangerous, if not hostile, to the liberties of the people. The framers of our happy constitution of government have preferred an appeal to the patriotism of the citizens. On the discipline, therefore, of its citizen soldiers the prosperity of the State essentially depends.

We witness with pleasure this day your enrollment among the defenders of their country. The trust is sacred. The

* A well known hardware merchant. Died October 16, 1884, aged 92 years, retaining his interest in the corps to the close of his life.

† Father of Captain Charles Hunt, 44th Mass. Vols., himself an N. E. G. man.

‡ Father of Dr. Wm. L. Richardson, and one of the leading merchants of this city.

§ Celebrated his ninety-sixth birthday, January 15, 1886, but died soon after.

duties imposing. On your patriotism we may confidently rely. Valor and discipline will point to you the path to glory. Remember that the independence of your country was purchased with the toils and blood of your fathers, and in your hands the sacred trust is placed for posterity. . . . As honourable citizens and undaunted soldiers, cultivate harmony with each other, preserve subordination, perfect yourselves in discipline, and the reward you will receive for this valuable service will be the sublime satisfaction which results from the discharge of duty with fidelity, and the grateful acknowledgment of your fellow citizens.

Fifty years later the younger members of the Guards proved that the advice then given had not fallen on stony ground, but had been treasured by those who were present and by them transmitted to their successors. Conclusive evidence of the patriotic spirit of the Guards is shown by the fact as stated by Captain John C. Putnam at a meeting of the Veteran Association in 1877, that out of one hundred and sixty who were at Fort Independence in April and May, 1861, one hundred and sixteen had been commissioned within six months, and several had entered the service as enlisted men.

Owing to the destruction of the records the names of only a comparatively small number of those who went into the army can now be obtained, but the rank of those who are known to have served is as follows :—

Brigadier General and Brevet Major General	1
Brigadier General	1
Colonel and Brevet Brigadier General	10
Colonel	7
Lieutenant Colonel and Brevet Brigadier General	2
Lieutenant Colonel and Brevet Colonel	2
Lieutenant Colonel	6
Major and Brevet Brigadier General	2
Major and Brevet Colonel	1
Major (Surgeon)	2
Major	6
Captain and Brevet Colonel	2
Captain and Brevet Lieutenant Colonel	1
Captain	39
First Lieutenant	29
Second Lieutenant	11
Staff Officer (rank not known)	1
Sergeant Major	1
Sergeants	14
Corporals	4
Privates (seven of these were in the 44th Mass.*)	8
U. S. Navy	4
Total	154

The standard was received and formally accepted by Ensign Blake, who said, in part :—

. . . . A country to be free must be defended by its own citizens, its natural defence, and we feel proud in thus pub-

* Only a very few who were in the 44th Mass. are included in the above statement.

licly acknowledging ourselves enrolled among the defenders of our country. We feel it to be a sacred duty, and although our country is engaged in a war contrary to the voice of the people of New England, yet if in the course of events we should be called to the tented field by our venerable Commander-in-chief 'to repel invasion,' 'to suppress insurrection,' or 'to execute the laws of the Union,' we pledge our life-blood to preserve this standard from dishonor. 'OUR NATION'S HONOR IS THE BOND OF UNION.'

The closing words were immediately adopted as the motto of the corps, and many of its members in later years testified their sincere and earnest devotion to the patriotic sentiment it expresses, by the sacrifice of their lives.

After the formal ceremonies of the presentation the Company was invited to partake of "cake and wine" with the General. The Company, says a contemporary account of the occasion, "then went through the standing, firing and marching salutes." They next "proceeded to Colonel Osgood's, whom they saluted, and thence marched to the residence of Capt. Swett, where a fine collation was provided by his liberality. The Company not having received its own arms, used those of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company on this parade."

They subsequently received many invitations of like nature from their numerous friends and admirers, and in one instance only, so far as the records disclose, was

such an invitation declined; and then only in consequence of having accepted a previous one of like character for the same hour. From the beginning of its existence the Guards were blessed with strong, healthy appetites, and evidences of this fact are found scattered all through the pages of the orderly books.

On the following evening, November 20, the Guards voted to present to Gen. Welles "a piece of plate . . . with suitable inscription thereon, expressive of their respect and gratitude for his honourable patronage." The commissioned officers were appointed a committee to make the presentation, and on January 19, 1813, reported that they had performed that duty. The plate bore the inscription, "Presented to General Arnold Welles by the officers and members of the New England Guards in grateful acknowledgment of his Honourable Patronage. November, 1812." The original of this inscription, designed and executed by Miss Walter, is preserved in the record book. It is a beautiful piece of penmanship. There are many specimens of her handiwork in the records, and their execution is admirable. This lady afterwards married Mr. Samuel F. McCleary, the first City Clerk of Boston, and the writer has frequently heard her tell of the great interest she had in the success of the Company.

In this connection it seems fitting to mention that, with the exception of a few pages in one of the earlier books, the records of the Guards, from the beginning to

the end, are models of neatness, fine penmanship and correct grammar and orthography,—the latter rather the exception than the rule seventy-five to one hundred years ago. Among the few errors discovered is the expression “*tuck* up the line of march,” and once, when speaking of a candidate, it is recorded that he was “admitted a member of the *corpse*.”

In January, 1813, at the suggestion of General Welles, the Company petitioned the Governor and Council for “a pair of Cannon.” Having learned that the Governor did not think he had power to grant the request, but that General Boyd, in command of the U. S. Arsenal at Charlestown, would loan them two field-pieces, the offer of the latter was accepted, and the petition to the Governor recalled. On January 19, 1813, although “the roads were filled with melted snow,” the Guards marched to Charlestown and brought home the cannon, which were deposited in “the Gun House on Charles street.” February 3, 1814, on request of General Cushing (probably the successor of General Boyd), these cannon were returned to the Arsenal. On the 14th, the Company petitioned the State Legislature to furnish them two brass cannon. Although there is no record of their receipt, the petition must have been granted, as the record soon after speaks of having “gone to the Gun House for the Cannon.” For some years after the Civil War they formed the “Battery” at the residence of Colonel William V.

Hutchings, Roxbury. About 1880 they were placed in the rooms of the Bostonian Society, together with all other property of the Guards that, so far as known, had been preserved. Each piece bears the inscription "CAST & MOUNTED BY ORDER OF THE BOARD OF WAR FOR THE N. E. G., 1814."

February 18, 1813, the Guards received Commodore Bainbridge, who, while in command of the *Constitution* a few weeks before, had sunk the British frigate *Java* off the coast of Brazil. Captain Isaac Hull, who in the same famous ship had won the victory over the *Guerriere* the previous July, General Welles, Commodore Rogers and other distinguished gentlemen formed the Committee of Reception, which met Capt. Bainbridge and his officers, as they landed at Long Wharf, and escorted them to the Exchange Coffee House, "the Band playing Washington's March."

On March 2, a complimentary public dinner was given to Capt. Bainbridge, Capt. Smith, and officers of the squadron in the harbor; Hon. Christopher Gore presided, and Hon. Peter C. Brooks and Gen. Welles were among the Vice-presidents on the occasion, "which was all that generosity and patriotism could dictate," and a number of the Guards were present.

Thursday, September 2, 1813, the Guards paraded under command of Captain Swett, forty-two members and the officers. "The weather was intensely hot. The number was small, but these were *resolute*." After

getting their guns from the Gun House, located as nearly as we can ascertain at or near the corner of Charles and Beacon streets, they "proceeded by way of West Boston bridge, Cambridge and West Cambridge, and the west side of Medford Pond to Gardner's Lock," which they reached "after many halts for rest and refreshment." There they took boats for the place of their encampment by the Lake of the Woods. On their way they "made the vales and hills resound with their animated songs." The tents were pitched, and the "encampment was on streets running from front to rear as practised in Europe."

They engaged in drill and target practice Friday morning, and after dinner broke camp and proceeded to Medford, where, on invitation of Hon. Peter C. Brooks, they "partook of elegant refreshments at his seat." They camped for the night on the "hill back of Mr. Tidd's house." Saturday morning, they partook of an "elegant breakfast" at Mr. Tidd's, and were "generously entertained" by Adjutant General Brooks. The record of this outing concludes, "Thus having the honour to be the first military corps that has marched out of town with complete camp equipage, made a regular encampment and performed regular camp duty for three successive days, since the establishment of our Commonwealth."

This custom of a yearly camp — "summer campaign" it was generally termed — became quite an institution

with the Guards, and unless prevented by other duties they usually passed from three to five days in camp each year. The custom, however, does not seem to have been followed generally by other troops. A few of these occasions deserve special mention.

In 1821, as testimony of the good behavior of the men, the clerk writes, "that although several apple trees were bending under the weight of their fruit in the immediate vicinity of the encampment, not one of them was an apple lighter when we left." In 1822, it was estimated that the corps entertained as guests more than one thousand ladies and gentlemen. The orderly notes, "After dinner the tents were cleared of all rubbish. The men put on clean trousers." In the campaign of 1823 it is recorded that "after performing various manoeuvres to the astonishment of our officers the Company was dismissed for twenty minutes." It is to be regretted that these "manoeuvres" were not more particularly described.

During this campaign was given a song written especially for the occasion, with the refrain, "The Guards will be a corps of friends." This song was sung at the first meeting of the Veteran Association in 1873, and the younger members will never forget the zeal and spirit displayed by the older ones as they joined in the refrain. It was no uncommon thing for the Guards "to drop into poetry," as so graphically expressed by Silas Wegg in "Our Mutual Friend," and many of the songs

which are copied at length in the records are very creditable, but not of sufficient general interest to warrant their reproduction.

The campaign of 1824, called the "Lafayette Campaign," was one of the most interesting in the history of the Corps. Gen. Lafayette revisited America that year, and on August 23 he came to Boston. After breakfasting with Governor Eustis he was received at the Roxbury line by the Mayor and Council of Boston, who, with the military escort, conducted him to the house prepared for his residence at the corner of Park and Beacon streets. On this occasion the Guards had the right of the regimental line.

Two days subsequently they went into summer camp at Savin Hill, and in honor of the General they called it the "Lafayette Campaign." The Company reported present three officers and sixty-five men, although more than seventy were in camp before the campaign closed. The orders issued for the government of the camp were most elaborate. They contained nineteen articles, covered six full pages of the record book, and attached was a very nicely drawn plan of the camp. The record gives a very detailed account of the ceremony of dress-parade, which was practically the same in form as that used to-day.

On Friday, August 27, General Lafayette and Governor Eustis visited the camp by special invitation. The morning was very rainy, the Guards consequently

much disheartened, and although the weather cleared partially in the afternoon, the enjoyment was somewhat dampened. These distinguished guests were received with the honors due their rank, and after the formal reception, the Company exhibited its proficiency in drill and target-shooting so far as the weather permitted. At the artillery practice the General and Governor each sighted and fired one shot; that of the General taking effect just above the centre of the target. A large number of visitors were present, including the Mayor and members of the City Government. Among the guests was "a Colonel of the British Army, who had lost a leg at Waterloo," and who, as the records say, "observed that he never saw such discipline in any camp as it was in ours," — a somewhat ambiguous compliment.

At the close of the report of the camp of 1827, at Nahant, is a water color, more graphic than artistic, showing a great splurge of fairly dark ink, labelled "Dust," and signed *T. S. Winslow, pinx.* In 1830, the Commissary warns the men not to eat so much, as the rations are nearly all gone!

In 1838, the camp was held at Woburn. In the orders issued it was said, "the best soldier will least encumber the baggage train," a lesson that it took a long while to learn, a quarter of a century later, and the ignorance or disobedience of which cost this nation many lives and a great many dollars. It also stated that

"no private stores (cigars excepted) will be allowed"; but it was remarkable how, in spite of this prohibition, such a quantity of private supplies should have accidentally been packed with those intended for general use. On this occasion "Wood up" was played by "Ned" Kendall, the well known bugler. It was estimated that more than three thousand visitors were present, and at one hotel it was claimed upwards of seven hundred chaises, carriages and other vehicles were accommodated.

The corps broke camp on Saturday, June 30, and on their return were met at Charlestown by about eighty past members, "merchants and gentlemen of Boston," of whom Abbott Lawrence was one, who escorted them to their armory.

In 1839, as a substitute for the usual camp duty, they accepted an invitation to assist in the second centennial celebration of the town of Barnstable. The steamer which was engaged having been detained by a heavy storm, the Guards, on being told even if it should arrive it could not get them to Barnstable on time, chartered the schooner Sarah, and with a party of about one hundred including band and servants, boarded the vessel. It was eleven o'clock in the evening before they left Long Wharf. As they passed Fort Independence they began to feel the effect of the storm. Two-thirds of the number were sea-sick, but they reached Barnstable in safety, and early enough to attend church services in

the morning. It was the first time many of the inhabitants of that town had ever seen a uniform or a tent. Governor Everett and suite arrived on the steamboat *Atlas* Sunday afternoon. Tuesday, September 3, was the important day. The civic procession was composed of an equal number of ladies and gentlemen. The Rev. John G. Palfrey was the orator. As the clerk quaintly observes, "as all things must have an end so the services and oration were at length concluded." There were more than fifteen hundred at the banquet, and when Governor Everett was introduced, "silence prevailed, in spite of the presence of nearly one thousand ladies, all of whom I think are possessed with an organ of loquaciousness." One of the toasts drunk was "The New England Guards: Cape Cod gives them to-day as friends what they are always prepared to give their Country's enemies—a warm reception." The ball given in the evening lasted till nearly four o'clock the following morning. The Guards returned to Boston by steamboat. The account of this trip covers thirty-two pages of the orderly book.

This was not the only visit of the Company to Barnstable. Late in the 'fifties it went there again as an escort to the Barnstable Co. Agricultural Association, on the occasion of its "Annual Fall Show." While there the Guards were handsomely entertained by Collector Phinney. The festivities closed with another brilliant ball, which lasted till the early morning hours,

and the grace and beauty of the ladies present made it a memorable occasion. The line of march for the returning train was formed before all the guests had departed, and as the Company passed the house of Collector Phinney with the Band playing "The girl I left behind me," handkerchiefs from the upper windows waved the corps a farewell salute. This parade was the last excursion of the kind before the Civil War.

In 1840, the Guards went to Northampton, and the account closes (it is dated July 18, 1840) "to-day occurred two important events: viz. the arrival of the New England Guards from a week's excursion to Northampton, and the steamer Britannia from Liverpool, via Halifax, in fourteen days and eighteen hours." In July, 1844, the Guards made an excursion to Providence and New York, and for the first time wore their bearskin caps. At Providence they were the guests of the Light Infantry and enjoyed an entertainment "believed to be indigenous to that State—a clam-bake," of which a full description is recorded. At New York they were guests of the City Guard and breakfasted with George Sullivan, a former Captain of the Company, then a resident of New York City. The New York Company entertained them with a trip of thirty miles up the Hudson and a ball at Niblo's Garden, and presented them with a fine standard.

Captain Swett having resigned (October, 1813) to accept a position as Topographical Engineer of the

Northern Army, on April 2, 1814, George Sullivan was elected Captain, and Lemuel Blake, Lieutenant. The complete list of the various commanders of the New England Guards is as follows :—

SAMUEL SWETT	Elected Sept. 22, 1812
GEORGE SULLIVAN	" April 2, 1814
GEORGE W. LYMAN	" May 6, 1817
FRANKLIN DEXTER	" Aug. 22, 1820
CHARLES G. LORING	" May 23, 1823
WILLIAM H. GARDINER	" May 3, 1825
WILLIAM F. OTIS	" May 6, 1828
EDWARD C. LORING	" June 8, 1829
RICHARD S. FAY	" March 31, 1831
THOMAS DWIGHT	" April 23, 1835
ALANSON TUCKER	" May 3, 1836
H. H. W. SIGOURNEY	" April 4, 1838
GEORGE TYLER BIGELOW*	" Jany. 15, 1839
CHARLES GORDON	" Jany. 9, 1841
J. PUTNAM BRADLEE	" March 20, 1845
JOSEPH L. HENSHAW	" March 16, 1852
GEORGE T. LYMAN	" Jany. 28, 1857
HARRISON RITCHIE†	" Dec. 30, 1859
GEORGE H. GORDON‡	" April 18, 1860
THOMAS G. STEVENSON§	" May 4, 1861
FRANCIS L. LEE 	" ———, 1862

* Later Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts.

† On Governor Andrew's staff in the Civil War.

‡ Colonel of 2d Mass. Vols., and Major General in the Civil War.

§ Colonel of 24th Mass. Vols., and Major General in the Civil War.

|| Colonel of 44th Mass. Vols. in the Civil War.

On Sunday, April 3, 1814, Commodore Bainbridge sent word to the Commanding officer that the Constitution had been chased into Marblehead harbor by a seventy-four and two frigates of the enemy, and that he was proceeding with what military force he could obtain for her defence. The Guards volunteered. Orders were issued at 5.30 P. M., and at 7 P. M., the Company was ordered to march. Halting in Charlestown, Commodore Bainbridge informed them that at 1 A. M., he would proceed with heavy ordnance; that he confidently expected an engagement in the morning, and requested the corps to proceed. Soon, however, they were overtaken by a messenger with orders to return and take charge of this ordnance; no horses being ready, the men were dismissed till 11 P. M., then to rendezvous at the Gun House. At that hour every man who had been present earlier reported, and there were also several who had not been notified previously. At midnight the Company was dismissed with many compliments "on their prompt and soldierly attention." This was the one expedition about which the older men enjoyed talking. Mr. Joseph West told the writer that Abbott Lawrence, not waiting to change his shoes, started shod in thin dancing pumps. Before reaching Charlestown he was practically barefooted, but far from being disheartened, kept on with the troops. He had hired a boy to go back to town for his boots, and soon after the corps had started on their return march met the lad trying to

overtake them. If the Guards did not see serious service it certainly was not their fault, for they were always the first to volunteer in any emergency when the militia was called upon.

On May 10, 1814, they were reviewed by Commodore Oliver H. Perry. In June, 1814, Commodore Bainbridge, anticipating an attack on the Navy Yard, requested that the Guards, who had previously volunteered, be ordered to guard the Chelsea bridge. The order was received at 5 P. M., and at 6 P. M. sixty-one members had reported for duty. They took with them "the Company's six-pounders, tumbrel and baggage waggons." Two eighteen-pounders had been sent them, and later, by order of General Dearborn, a couple of brass twelve-pounders. They remained on duty at the Yard from June 13 to June 23, their time being occupied in drill, target practice and building what they called the "Guards' Fort." During this tour of duty they were present and assisted in the launching of the frigate *Independence*.

On September 13, 1814, orders were received that the members should wear their uniforms constantly till further notice, as they were liable to be called for duty at any minute. This order was not countermanded till October 21.

On October 26, 1814, a detachment under Ensign Benj. T. Pickman, with Charles Tidd and J. Howe, Jr., sergeants, and Abbott Lawrence and Richard Ward,

corporals, did duty at Fort Strong, Noddle's Island (now East Boston), from Wednesday until Sunday. Thomas Dennie, Jr., volunteered as Commissary, and Samuel Hunt as Assistant. In the regulations for this detachment it is "expected that Gentlemen will entertain their Friends at their individual expense"; and that "the captain of each tent will apply to the Commissary for whatever *spirit* may be wanted for the use of the mess."

The news of the Declaration of Peace was received on February 13, 1815. From the organization of the corps the Guards had met frequently, sometimes daily, and were in constant readiness to answer any call at an instant's notice. After the close of the war the interest in military matters was necessarily much lessened, and the Guards confined their duties to an occasional drill or to such as were prescribed by the militia laws of the Commonwealth.

On February 20, 1815, the officers, fearing that many of the members might think that as the danger of war was over the duties would be more onerous than they desired and so be tempted to resign, proposed that the Company should not voluntarily accept any mere escort or parade duty, but confine itself entirely to "such as might be absolutely necessary for the preservation of our valuable association."

This suggestion met the hearty approval of the members of the corps; but having received an invitation to

escort the Dorchester people at a Fourth of July celebration, the Resolution was rescinded, so far as it related to escort duty, and the invitation was accepted. At the close of the record for the Fourth, the clerk writes: "Took up the march for Boston much pleased with the polite treatment we had received, but resolving not again to volunteer." July 7, 1817, they were reviewed by the President of the United States, James Monroe.

September 18, 1818, there is copied a receipt for two hundred dollars, showing that in consideration of that payment the Gun House on Charles street was owned equally by the Sea Fencibles and the New England Guards.

An entry under date of June 20, 1820, is interesting as showing a comparison of the prices eighty or ninety years ago with those of the present. The prices for musicians, as agreed upon, were four dollars per day; three dollars for half a day. Afternoon or morning drill, one dollar; evening drill, seventy-five cents.

On July 7, 1824, with but forty minutes' notice, forty men and two officers assembled to act as guard over property which had been moved to the Common in consequence of a large fire.

February 11, 1825, the Guards performed escort duty at the funeral of Governor Eustis; and on April 8, they guarded the property saved from the Doane street fire, where "were destroyed upwards of fifty houses, and nearly one hundred persons were driven

from their stores, and their goods scattered about in different parts of the city."

The corner-stone of Bunker Hill Monument was laid on June 17, 1825, the fiftieth anniversary of the battle, the Guards, with a large number of other companies of the militia, performing escort duty. Daniel Webster delivered the oration. General Lafayette was present, and many Revolutionary veterans joined the procession in carriages.

In resigning his commission October 24, 1827, Captain Gardiner touched on what has always been one of the marked characteristics of this body from its organization to the close of its existence, and which contributed so much to the *esprit de corps* of its members :—

I knew the military reputation which this corps has always enjoyed, and I was therefore prepared to find in hours of duty much of that formal respect from the soldier to the officer which constitutes a necessary part of military discipline ; but I was not prepared to find it in the degree in which I have found it. I was not prepared to find it carried into all other situations and duties of life. I was not prepared to find it mingled with that cordiality of social intercourse and feeling of brotherly attachment which seems to be the common bond of the Guards, and which in my eye constitutes the great charm of the association.

December 5, 1829, an order was passed that in future the buttons on the uniforms should be stamped N. E. G.

On the night of August 11, 1834, the convent at Charlestown was burned by a mob. The excitement was intense in Boston as well as in Charlestown, and fearing further outrage, and somewhat doubting the ability of the civil force to control matters, the Light Infantry troops, of which the New England Guards was one of the companies, were ordered, as a precautionary measure, to meet at Faneuil Hall on the evening of August 12, ready to act in case of emergency. They remained on duty at the Armory and at the Arsenal from Tuesday, August 12, to Saturday, August 16, when the authorities deemed that the danger was over, and the Guards were dismissed.

On September 6, 1834, the Guards formed part of the "Young Men's" procession which paraded in honor of General Lafayette. The line was a mile and a half long.

January 20, 1835, a ball was given at the Norfolk House, and the members assembled "at 7 o'clock P. M., accompanied by the lovely beings whom nature has ordered to be the participators of man's joys and sorrows." The clerk at that time was evidently an admirer of the fair sex, as later he writes: "For although it must be acknowledged that champagne has *power* it must also be acknowledged that it has not the *charm* of the musical voice of a beautiful lady." And he adds, "the dance again commenced with considerable more *spirit* than before supper."

June 29, 1835, the clerk records that it was "voted to go on the Common to drill by the pale moon" but does not condescend to explain about these tactics.

In the winter of 1836 and '37, the Guards occupied a room at No. 8 Devonshire street. In the rules for the government of the members it was ordered:—"No cards, dice or other games of chance shall be allowed No spirituous liquor shall be brought into the room unless by special permission from the officers."

June 11, 1837, occurred a serious trouble between a number of firemen, who were thought to have needlessly interfered with a long funeral procession, on the one hand, and those who composed it and their sympathizers on the other; the affair is usually spoken of as the "Broad Street Riot." The Guards, under command of Ensign Bigelow, was the first company to report, and remained on duty all night. On May 24, 1838, they were called to assemble in anticipation of an "Abolition Riot," but their services were not required.

In the winter of 1838 and 1839, the Company occupied rooms on Franklin street, and on December 11 and 12 they were opened to friends of the corps. Over fifteen hundred yards of bunting and more than one hundred guns were used in the decorations. The rent of these rooms was one hundred and eighty dollars a year.

May 20, 1839, an order was issued disbanding the battalion of Light Infantry, and a regiment of that branch

of the service was formed. The companies of the new regiment were the Boston Light Infantry, Rifle Rangers, Pulaski Guards, New England Guards, Columbian Greys, Highland Guards, Suffolk Light Guard and Hancock Light Infantry. For some reasons it is to be regretted that the militia organizations could not have retained their individual names instead of being known only by the company letter.

The Guards gave a Ball on the evening of March 4, 1841, called the "Harrison Ball." Many of the younger members have heard their parents speak of this event as one of the most brilliant ever given in Boston; but the only mention of it in the records is that the "decorations be removed from the 'Room' to the 'Armory.'"

April 17, 1841, the Guards passed Resolutions on the death of President Harrison, and on the 20th joined in the funeral procession. Two or three newspaper accounts of the proceedings are pasted in the records, but are too long to be reproduced.

On May 26, 1842, it was suggested that the use of all spirituous liquors, wines, etc., at all parades and drills be abolished, and on June 2 a motion to dispense with them for the ensuing year was unanimously carried. The great temperance movement of that time had begun, and this vote, in an age when almost every one drank as a matter of course, is worthy of being noted, especially as it was carried unanimously. No-

vember 7 a Resolution even more stringent, was passed, forbidding the use of any intoxicating liquor while on duty except on a physician's prescription.

June 16, 1843, with the other military companies of the city, they received President Tyler at the Roxbury Crossing, and escorted him to the Tremont House. Bunker Hill Monument was dedicated the following day, the anniversary of the battle. A long newspaper account of this is inserted in the records. There were troops present from Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and New York, in addition to a large number from Massachusetts. The Guards had the right of the line of the light infantry and rifle division. The third division of the civic procession was headed by King Solomon's Lodge, A. F. & A. M., then of Charlestown, who had erected the first monument on the battle ground in memory of Gen. Joseph Warren. Appleton Howe was Major General, and Samuel Chandler, chief marshal.

The only record of the Guards' being interested in politics is on November 9, 1843, when, with the assent of the Democratic members, many of whom joined in the procession, they acted as escort at a Whig rally in Andover.

The last meeting of which there is any record, in the books preserved, was on March 27, 1845; and the last entry is, "Adjourned to Wednesday, April 2, 1845. (Signed) Benjamin B. Gore, Clerk pro tem."

In August, 1856, the Guards visited Nahant, by invitation, and were entertained by Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, a Past Commander of the Boston Light Infantry, and a brilliant ball in the evening closed the occasion. Many similar events might be cited.

The rooms on the upper floor of Faneuil Hall were occupied as armories by the Ancient and Honorable Artillery and the numerous militia companies of Boston for many years, the hall on which they opened being used for drills. The walls of these rooms were lined with racks of gleaming muskets; they were decorated with appropriate pictures and draped with stands of colors, for in those days the company, not the regiment, was the unit of interest; its traditions were carefully cherished, and the various companies took pride in showing their quarters to visitors.

When the increase in the number of these commands made it inconvenient for their officers to drill them, in the limited space available, many of the companies found rooms elsewhere. Some of those occupied by the Guards have been mentioned above. In the 'fifties the Boston Light Infantry secured a hall on Essex street, nearly opposite Harrison Avenue; the Cadets fitted up a large room on Tremont street, nearly opposite the Tremont House; the City Guards one on the north side of Winter, near Washington street, and the New England Guards occupied premises in Gray's Building, on the southern corner of Washington and Summer streets.

This Armory of the Company was dedicated October 10, 1859, and was a notable event in the history of the corps. Capt. Henshaw welcomed the guests of the evening, and speeches were made by Mayor Benjamin Seaver, Gen. B. F. Edmands, Col. Thomas C. Amory of the Cadets, and many others prominent in military and civic circles. There is a full account of the affair in the archives of the Bostonian Society.

All of these company armories were in the upper stories of the several buildings, and in case of trouble would have been difficult of defence. When the companies which composed the Second Battalion were detached from the First Regiment, quarters for all three were obtained in Boylston Hall. These rooms were in the care of company armorers, the well-remembered "Dicky Bacon" having charge of the guns and equipments of the Guards for many years. When the custom of regimental camps was introduced, Commissary Bacon, in spite of his lameness, was an important character. "Dickey's pills," — pieces of loaf sugar saturated with some mysterious but delicious concoction, the components of which were unknown except to the Commissary — were found to have a vivifying effect on the men, after a night of service on guard, and "morning cocktails," if not unknown, were needless.

The subsequent history of the Guards is largely a matter of tradition and personal recollection. From the close of the War of 1812 until the outbreak of the

Civil War, the organization had its periods of depression as well as of activity, but through its whole history its *esprit de corps* remained unshaken. In 1860, when it seemed as if Lincoln's election might result in an attempted secession of some or all of the Southern States, interest in military matters became more intense, and the Guards received many additions to their ranks. The visit of the Ellsworth Zouaves exerted a great influence in awakening the military spirit, and the commander of that corps gave the Guards unstinted praise for their proficiency. The annual festival in January, 1861, held in Essex Hall, on the corner of Essex and Washington streets, diagonally opposite the armory, which was then in Boylston Hall, was largely attended by the past as well as the active members. It was on this occasion that Governor Andrew said he was such a friend of peace that he was ready to fight for it, a sentiment which elicited most enthusiastic applause.

Governor Andrew's celebrated Order No. 4* was read at a Guard meeting, November 23, 1860, and every member but one, who excused himself on account of serious illness in his family, pledged himself in readiness to respond to any call. A well known military critic said of the Guards about this time: "The effi-

* This was the order requiring the discharge of any member of the militia who was unable or unwilling to respond to any call that might be made.

ciency and improvement of the Company in drill is owing very much to the skill and ability of Captain George H. Gordon, a graduate of West Point, who has done efficient service in the United States Army ; and also to the efforts of the excellent Orderly, Thomas G. Stevenson." Captain Gordon had been wounded in one of the battles in the Mexican War.

For some time previous to 1861 the Boston Light Infantry, popularly known as the "Tigers," and the Guards had been associated as the Second Battalion of Infantry. In March of that year, the Guards were detached from that Battalion, another company was recruited and Captain Gordon was elected to the command of the new Battalion — the "Fourth." The City Guard — a part of the Second Battalion when originally detached from the First Regiment, had previously become the Fourth Battalion of Rifles.

As the call for Massachusetts troops was filled by regiments already organized, the services of the Battalion were not needed, and on April 18, three days after the President's call was issued, Major Gordon offered his services to Governor Andrew to raise and command a regiment of volunteers "for the war." This is supposed to be the first offer of the kind received by the Governor. Major Gordon's letter explains so clearly his idea of the proper value of the militia, then first enunciated and now so widely accepted, it should be of general interest and is given at length :—

In offering to the Governor of the Commonwealth my resignation of the office of Major of the Fourth Battalion of Infantry, to assume command of a regiment to be raised for service during the existence of our present unhappy difficulties, I deem it due to the members composing that Battalion to state publicly my reason therefor, as follows: —

Wherever any son of Massachusetts can render the most efficient service to the State, there, in my judgment, should his efforts be given. Although in the first outbreak of war reliance must necessarily be placed on our militia, in whose ranks are found men of the best classes in our community, yet for prolonged and continuous service a composition of forces like that constituting the Army of the General Government is indisputably the most efficient and serviceable: a composition in which the character and intelligence of our best citizens must be used to organize and drill the bone and muscle — those upon whom we must rely for our armies.

Then we may with a small body of well-instructed gentlemen impart information, raise into an organization, and render efficient very many large bodies of men, all of whom will in time become soldiers rather than undisciplined mobs of raw militia. Where, as in the present sudden emergency, any, even the least, capacity exists to impart information and efficiency to a company of privates, we cannot afford to waste precious material that may instruct others, by calling it to render individual service as privates rather than officers.

My aim as chief of the New England Guards has been to impart to my command the necessary instruction to enable them to command, rather than to build up a company to serve as privates during the fatigues of a long campaign.

Massachusetts needs to-day military skill, science, and power to instruct. No man has a right to refuse his skill to drill the body of the militia of our State, even though he sacrifice that ambition, so near to a soldier's heart, to be the first to bleed for his country.

Believing firmly that my duty lies in the direction I have chosen, I have acted accordingly; and knowing how hard it is for those of my command with whom I have been so intimately associated, and for whom individually I entertain a respect that can never abate, and whose bravery and patriotism each and every member will show in the right direction, to be kept back from the foremost in this call of their Country, I remain, ever devoted to the Constitution of the United States and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

GEORGE H. GORDON.

The record of service of the Old Guard members is the best proof of how well they profited by the lessons they had received. More than two hundred members of the Guards were commissioned during the war and several served in the ranks. At the outbreak of the war it was expected that the Guards would be immediately ordered to the front, and feeling that the organization ought to be continued, on April 20, 1861, many of the past members and those who from physical inability, family or business considerations, were unable to enlist, met and voted to organize the "New England Guard Reserve," to take the place of the existing Company, should the latter be ordered into active service.

At the meeting on April 23, Dr. J. B. Brown, who was Surgeon of the Guards during the War of 1812, volunteered to serve again in the same capacity. Of course, his patriotic offer was enthusiastically accepted.

April 25, 1861, the Guards were sent to garrison Fort Independence. The order closes as follows :—

... These troops are charged with this duty in pursuance of their own patriotic wishes, and are to be supplied with rations by the State, but to perform the service without compensation.

It is owing to this latter provision that it has been impossible to obtain a complete list of those who served at the Fort, no muster-roll having been filed, and, as previously mentioned, the Guards' records having been destroyed. Capt. Thomas G. Stevenson had been elected to the command of the Battalion on the resignation of Major Gordon, and he was commissioned Major on May 4, 1861. Major Stevenson was a born soldier. A strict disciplinarian, he was one who commanded not only the respect and admiration but the warmest love of all who served under him. "Our Tom" was the pet name used by the men when speaking of him, and it is doubtful if anyone else could have enforced such strict discipline as prevailed at the Fort with so little friction. This experience proved of great value to those who subsequently joined the army. The newspapers of that day were full of praises of the Fourth Battalion.

On May 26, the Guard were relieved by the Fourth Battalion of Rifles (the old City Guard), under Maj. Samuel H. Leonard, later the nucleus of the Thirteenth Massachusetts. On this occasion was heard for the first time the "Fourth Battalion Quickstep," arranged by P. S. Gilmore, which immediately became a favorite, and which was one of the most inspiring quicksteps ever written.

On this occasion was worn for the first time in Boston the Zouave uniform so intimately associated with recollections of the Fourth Battalion. They returned from Fort Independence on the Nelly Baker. It was with this steamer, her name meanwhile having been changed to Escort, that in April, 1863, the 5th Rhode Island regiment performed one of the most gallant feats of the war, by running an unarmed vessel loaded with ammunition, provisions and forage, through eight miles of batteries, and bringing relief to their comrades of the 27th and 44th Massachusetts regiments, then besieged in "Little" Washington, N. C. The Guards landed at Long Wharf where they were received by the "Reserve," who paraded under Captain Bradlee, with ninety-seven guns, and later in the day were reviewed by Colonel Swett, their first Commander, on Boston Common. The *Boston Courier* of the following day said: "The dress parade of Major Stevenson's command was the finest display ever made by Boston soldiers."

Representatives of the Guards were found in most of the Massachusetts regiments recruited in the eastern part of the State, particularly in the Second, commanded by Colonel Gordon of the Guards, Twentieth, and Twenty-fourth, in the first two a majority, and in the last all but three or four, of the commissioned officers having been members of the New England Guards.

Of the six Boston officers whose portraits appear in the third volume of the "Memorial History of Boston," three, if not four, received their early training as privates in the New England Guards, as did also the author of the chapter, "Boston Soldiery in War and Peace." Of the few memorials to the memory of the heroes of the Civil War, in and about the State House, two, those in honor of General Thomas G. Stevenson and General William F. Bartlett represent members of this well-known corps. These facts show better than words the class of men who composed this old and honorable organization.

The Battalion volunteered in August, 1861, but as the United States Government was unwilling to accept a unit less than a regiment, Major Stevenson was granted authority on August 31 to raise a regiment for the war. This regiment was the Twenty-fourth Massachusetts, and formed part of the Burnside expedition. Just before its departure, in December, the past commanders of the Guards presented Colonel Stevenson a horse and suitable equipments. It was expected that

the regiment would pass through Boston on its way to the front, and the "Reserve" had arranged to do escort duty; but as the Twenty-fourth took cars at Readville direct to New York, the plan was abandoned.

After the departure of the Twenty-fourth there were left but few active members of the Guards. Many had belonged to "Salignac's Drill Corps," which later was merged with the "Massachusetts Rifle Club." In the winter of 1861-62, a large number of those interested in these organizations joined the Fourth Battalion, and Francis L. Lee, who had been in command of the Rifle Club, was elected Major.

In May, 1862, at the time of Banks's retreat, the militia were ordered to assemble, in expectation of being sent to the front. The Boston and Salem Cadets were immediately mustered in, and sent to Fort Warren, to relieve the companies guarding the rebel prisoners there confined. When it was found that under the law the militia might be held for eight months instead of three, every company that had reported, with the exception of the Guards, refused to be sworn into the service for a longer period than three months. The Boston papers in commenting on this subject said, "But their action yesterday, in such marked contrast with that of other corps in this city, will be remembered to their credit, and give this gallant Battalion an addition to their previous honorable prestige." When it was supposed that the Battalion was going into active service many young

men joined, and authority was given to form a third company, but no record has been found showing that it was organized.

On the 28th, Governor Andrew presented the Guards with a flag. In his speech he said : —

Your conduct is what might be expected, and an earnest of what may be relied upon for the Fourth Battalion ; and I pledge you that during the brief space that I may occupy my position with regard to the militia, there shall be no position of honor within my gift higher than that assigned to the Fourth Battalion.

On August 4, 1862, came the call for 300,000 nine-months' men. The Battalion voted to go, but knowing that its acceptance as a Battalion was doubtful, decided to raise a regiment, and on August 7, 1862, they were granted the necessary authority. The formation of this regiment, the Forty-fourth Massachusetts, was in effect a death-blow to the Guards, as on its rolls were practically all the active members who had not previously enlisted.

The semi-centennial anniversary was celebrated on October 15, 1862. The flag used on this occasion was the one presented by the New York City Guard in 1837. The exercises were held at the Old South Church. Dr. Blagden, the pastor, made the prayer, and the address was by Rev. George D. Wildes, chaplain of the Corps. Later the Company dined at the

United States Hotel. During the day they presented "Dan" Simpson, their veteran drummer, with a beautiful silver service suitably inscribed. These proceedings, with the address and several of the speeches were published in a handsome pamphlet.

At the meeting of the "Reserve," on September 17, 1862 (five days subsequent to the muster-in of the Forty-fourth), Captain Bradlee stated, "that it had been intimated to him that the officers of the Forty-fourth regiment expected that now that they were going off, the 'Reserve,' or 'Old Guard,' should step in and take their place." Col. Leverett Saltonstall added, "that Colonel Lee said it would be a great favor if the 'Old Guard' would now step in and assist them, by taking the room, etc., and keep the place warm until their return." On September 24, the committee appointed to consider this request reported: "That whereas at a meeting, held on the twenty-second instant, of the remaining members of the Fourth Battalion who have not enlisted for the war, it was unanimously voted to resign all their right, title and interest in the organization of said Fourth Battalion to the care and custody of the Old New England Guards; therefore the Reserve Corps of the Old Guards accept the trust forthwith to take charge of the armory and fixtures, and invite the remaining members of the late Fourth Battalion to join our ranks for the performance of such duty as we may be engaged in." The consideration of this report was

assigned to a subsequent meeting, and on October 15 was unanimously accepted and adopted.

Until February 10, 1863, no one was admitted a member of the "Old Guard" who had not previously been a member of the active organization, but at that meeting the By-Laws were changed so that anyone could be admitted, provided he received the necessary vote of five-sixths of the members.

The "Old Guard" acted as escort to the Forty-fourth regiment, June 10, 1863, on its return home at the expiration of its enlistment. February 20, 1864, it performed a similar duty when the Twenty-fourth Massachusetts came home. On the latter occasion the Guards paraded as a battalion of five companies, under command of Captain Bradlee, with one hundred and twenty-five men in the ranks; the first company was composed of members of the Forty-fourth regiment, in uniform, under Capt. Henry D. Sullivan; the others were in citizens' dress, and were officered by past members of the corps. On the march the escort was joined by the Cadets. This was the last parade of the Guards.

At the meeting on June 30, 1863, the "Old Guard" signified their desire to relinquish the trust they had accepted the previous October. For various reasons it was decided to let matters remain in their charge for a while longer. A few meetings of the Old Guard, at some of which were present members of the Forty-fourth regiment, were held during the fall and early

winter, at which different plans for reorganization were fully discussed. Owing to the uncertainty of the effect of the Massachusetts militia law recently enacted, the fact that comparatively few of the former active members were available, and that most of the young men who would naturally have joined were in actual service, the expense of keeping up such an organization, and various other reasons, the attempt was given up, although many of the former members were most enthusiastic and felt strongly that a reorganization should be made. The last business meeting recorded was held March 9, 1864.

On May 14, 1864, a full meeting of the old members of the Battalion and of the regiments it had recruited assembled to pay their tribute to the memory of its former commander, Maj. Gen. Thomas G. Stevenson, who fell in the battle in the "Wilderness," May 10, and of Major H. L. Abbott, of the 20th. Suitable Resolutions prepared by Col. Leverett Saltonstall and Mr. Joseph S. Fay were passed, and addresses were made by several gentlemen. The armory was draped in mourning for sixty days.

June 15, 1864, Capt. Bradlee, Joseph West, one of the original members, and Lieut. Isaac Butts, called the final meeting of the Reserve, "to take action . . . to wind up the military organization."

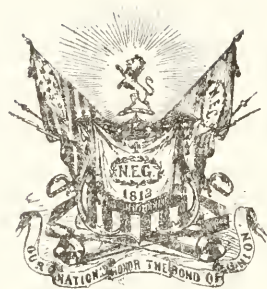
So far as can be ascertained, no more meetings were held until September 12, 1873, when the Old Guard

gathered and adjourned to October 22. At this meeting, among the older members present were Jeffrey Richardson, eighty-eight years old, Joseph West, eighty-one years old, and Dan Simpson and Si Smith, the veteran drummer and fifer of the Corps.

At the meeting October, 1876, a motion was made to organize an active company, and the writer was on the committee appointed to endeavor to carry out the plan. Efforts to obtain a charter, or permission from the Legislature to organize, were continued for two or three years, but failed of success, and finally it was reluctantly decided to give up the attempt.

Some years ago the writer, as Secretary of the Forty-fourth, in seeking information of interest to the regiment, was in correspondence with the Adjutant Generals of most of the States, and as a result of his inquiries the epitaph of the New England Guards might well be, "The only militia organization in the country which died from patriotism, most of its members capable of bearing arms having gone into active service in defence of the Nation's integrity."





COL. JOSEPH WARD

1737-1812

TEACHER—SOLDIER—PATRIOT

BY

WILLIAM CARVER BATES.



COL. JOSEPH WARD,

1737 — 1812

TEACHER — SOLDIER — PATRIOT.

A PAPER READ TO THE BOSTONIAN SOCIETY, COUNCIL CHAMBER, OLD
STATE HOUSE, FEBRUARY 12, 1899, BY

WILLIAM CARVER BATES.



THE Centennial celebrations of the events of the Revolutionary period stimulated the study of those eventful years, and brought to light the names of notable patriots and stirring events little known to the present generation of citizens. The searchlight of historical study revealed patriotism and heroic public service recorded in family archives and most worthy of world-wide recognition. In our Boston citizenship it was not only Hancock and Warren, Otis and Adams, who should be household words in our public schools, but Molineux and Ward, and

many others, who will yet be recorded by grateful historians and placed on pedestals for example and inspiration and gratitude.

Col. Joseph Ward, born in Newton 1737, settled in Boston in early manhood — about 1770, and died here in 1812, and was buried in the Ticknor tomb on the Common.

In the *Boston Gazette* in September, 1772, we read :

'The subscriber informs the Gentlemen and Ladies in Town, that he purposes to open an ENGLISH GRAMMAR SCHOOL for the instruction of Youth, in a House adjoining to the Treasurer's Office; now improved by Mr. Greenleaf. From 8 o'clock to 11 in the Morning and from 2 to 5 in the Afternoon he will teach Reading and Grammar; and from 11 to 12 in the Morning and from 5 to 6 in the Afternoon, will teach Writing, Arithmetic, English Grammar, Logic and Composition, Elegant Letter Writing, &c. Price 15s. per quarter. No Fire Money on Entrance will be required As many Gentlemen have recommended such a school as being much wanted in the town, and encouraged the subscriber to open one, he hopes for the double satisfaction of promoting the Public Interest and his own. As he has spent many years in teaching Youth, he apprehends, by the application of the Rules which he has collected from Observation and Experience he can learn children to read in less than half the time they commonly spend in learning; and in a short Time correct bad Pronunciation, which they often contract, and if not early corrected becomes habitual, and is a lasting Blemish to their Reading and Discourse.



Col. JOSEPH WARD.

From crayon portrait in the Free Library, Newton, Mass.

The knowledge of English Grammar, Logic, and Composition is so essential in Education that no person can make any Figure in the Lettered World without it; therefore it must be a great advantage to those who have not had a polite Education to acquire those Parts of Learning. Polite Letter Writing on Business, Friendship, &c. is a very necessary Accomplishment for Youth. Young Masters and Misses who are arrived to Years of Understanding may acquire a sufficient Knowledge in Grammar and Composition in a short Time.

Gentlemen and Ladies who incline to send their Children to the School above mentioned are desired to engage them soon (for the School will be opened as soon as a sufficient Number are engaged), and leave their Names with the Printers of this Advertisement, or with the Subscriber at his Lodgings, Mrs. Holbrook's, near the Common.

Boston, Sept. 30, 1772. Joseph Ward.

If a sufficient number should offer, for an Evening School, to be instructed in any of the above Branches of Learning, the School will be kept Monday and Wednesday Evenings.

N. B. As a number of Children are already engaged, the School will be opened the Second Monday in October.

Ward had the common-school education of that day, working on his father's farm on Ward street, Newton, until he was twenty years old; he then became an assistant in the private school of Abraham Fuller, continuing his studies of the higher branches, teaching in various country schools in Newton, Newcastle, Wells, Chelsea, Marblehead, and in Portsmouth, N. H., until

he appears in Boston about 1767, at the South Writing School, later the Adams School, which stood on Mason street, near the old Gun House on Boston Common — a spot ever since occupied for school purposes.

There has been preserved by the heirs of Col. Ward a copy-book of this South Writing School, which is certainly one of the most interesting relics of our pre-revolutionary period; it contains pages written by Abiah Holbrook, the Master; Joseph Ward, the owner of the book; John Fenno, the keeper of the Granary; William Molineux, the notable patriot and merchant, whose early death in 1774 deprived the town of invaluable services. It is one of the regrettable curiosities of literature that Hawthorne selected this name — “My cousin, Major Molineux,” — for one of his “Twice-Told Tales,” making him in this unhistoric tale, a rabid tory, tarred and feathered by his indignant fellow-citizens.

The pages of the copy-book are highly creditable specimens of the chirography of the period, and it is much to be feared that the colored inks of our present use will not show so well after one hundred and more years.

We dwell especially upon the career and character of Joseph Ward as a patriot and moulder of public opinion. He was doubtless successful and notable in his vocation. but it was what we term his avocation that was to make him memorable, and place his name among “the few, the immortal names that were not born to die.”

This young Boston schoolmaster was for several years, indeed all his life, a writer for the newspapers. Columns from the *Boston Gazette*, *Massachusetts Spy*, *Continental Journal*, *Country Journal*, *News Letter*, *Massachusetts Centinel* and *New Hampshire Gazette*, signed "Observation," "Foresight," "American Solon," and "Consideration," have been preserved, and have Ward's name affixed by himself for his archives; it is by this happy foresight that we can now give to him the proper credit for certain ideas and prophetic proclamations that previous historians have attributed to others; this is notably the case in the matter of advocating the independence of the Colonies; the assembly of the Continental Congress; and certain fiery denunciations usually attributed to Samuel Adams.

We will quote from newspapers of the period, and from cuttings preserved and endorsed by Colonel Ward as from his pen, extracts showing that he was one of the earliest advocates of complete independence, and perhaps the first to propose a Congress of the Colonies:

From the *Boston Gazette*, September, 1773:

The very important dispute between Britain and America has for a long time employed the pens of statesmen in both countries, but no plan of union is yet agreed on between them; the dispute still continues, and everything floats in uncertainty. As I have long contemplated the subject with fixed attention, I beg leave to offer a proposal to my countrymen, viz:—That a Congress of American States be

assembled as soon as possible, draw up a Bill of Rights, and publish it to the world, choose an Ambassador, to reside at the British Court, to act for the Colonies; appoint where the Congress shall annually meet, and how it may be summoned upon any extraordinary occasion; what further steps are necessary to be taken, &c.

That Great Britain should continue to insult and alienate the growing millions who inhabit this country, on whom she greatly depends, and on whose alliance in future time her existence may be dependant, is perhaps as glaring an instance of human folly as ever disgraced politicians, or put common-sense to the blush.

OBSERVATION.

On July 27, 1772, the same paper printed the following open letter, from the pen of Col. Ward:

TO THE PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN:

Come, fellow subjects and fellow Christians, let us reason together. God and nature has made us free, and placed us on a level; don't let us impiously usurp the gifts of our common parent, and violate the laws of heaven by destroying that liberty which is the basis of human happiness. No nation in the universe, that we have any knowledge of, has such a prospect as the English; our only danger is a disunion; if this takes place, Britain must fall; but America will be independent; her situation and her vast extent of territory, and natural advantages for independence, wealth and power, assure her freedom. Let none be deluded with this absurd ministerial doctrine 'that a supreme power over the whole nation must be in the British Parliament, and the

nation cannot be governed without it ;' this is the product of weak or wicked heads, and tends to the disunion and destruction of the Commonwealth.

The true plan of government, which reason and the experience of nations point out for the British Empire is, to let the several Parliaments in Britain and America be (as they naturally are) free and independent of each other, as the Parliaments are in Holland, and as the King is the centre of union and one-third of the whole legislature, the various parts of the body politic will be united in him ; he will be spring and soul of the union, to guide and regulate the grand political machine. Common interest (the great and only bond of society) will cement the various members, invigorate the whole body, and perpetuate the union. This will hold every joint and member in its proper place, and while all find themselves free, a noble ambition will stimulate everyone to contribute to the happiness and glory of the whole empire ; peace and harmony will reign throughout her vast dominion, while discord, jealousy and envy, the bane of nations, will be heard no more.

Thus Britain may be free and happy, rich and glorious, to the latest period of time ; and so vast are the treasures of national wealth and power which she may receive from this great continent, imagination can hardly set bounds to her future splendor. George may be the greatest monarch, and his dominion the most august empire ever formed by the sons of men.

The plan of government here exhibited is the only path of safety for the nation ; if she departs from it a disunion between Britain and America, and a dissolution of the em-

pire will be the inevitable consequence. Therefore it is hoped the British Ministry and Parliament will no more insult human understanding with vain pretensions of superiority over Americans. These Colonies never made any agreement with, or acknowledged any dependence upon, the Parliament of Great Britain, nor ever will. Their contract was with the King and none else. Him they acknowledge as their lawful Sovereign, and are willing to bear a just proportion of the charge in supporting his dignity and that of the nation; but of this proportion, and how to collect it, they will be the judge — without this privilege they would be slaves, destitute of every ray of freedom, and slaves they will not be.

Let all who would tax the Americans, consider and weigh well the following considerations: The number of people in British America, according to their increase in years past, will in a little more than twenty years, be equal to those in Great Britain. In fifty years they will be double; and in a century from the present time, the Americans will amount to sixty millions. Can anyone imagine this vast country with such a multitude of people will long be in slavish subjection to Britain? He may as well suppose she will govern the whole universe.

In an article in the *Essex Gazette*, October 29, 1771, entitled "Independency," signed "Foresight," after predicting the decline of Great Britain's power, it is said:

America is young, and will have its day: she will undoubtedly rise to eminence and great glory, long survive the death of her parent state, and flourish in freedom when

Britain (like many other once famous kingdoms) shall live only in the historic page.

In the *Boston Gazette* of August, 1772, he wrote :

TO THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA : I answer that if no regard was paid to our united complaint, we should be justified in the sight of the world, if we sought a remedy another way. I mean, *set up a government of our own, independent of Great Britain.*

Hosmer's "Life of Samuel Adams" (page 373), has the following : "Among the leading statesmen of America, independence was the desire of Samuel Adams alone." Again on page 373 : "We have passed in review the great figures of our Revolutionary epoch, one by one, and seen that neither then, nor seven years before the Declaration of Independence, nor long after, was there a man except Samuel Adams who looked forward to it and worked for it." The extracts from various papers, written by Ward for the newspapers of his time, are a sufficient answer to this statement. Others of similar character are given below.

The *Boston Gazette* of August, 1771, had an "Open letter to Governor Hutchinson" :

Tell the Ministry, tell the King, that the plans which they are pursuing to tax the colonies and subject them to arbitrary power will end in the destruction of the nation. Tell them that the day is fast approaching wherein the union between America and Great Britain *will be dissolved.*

Judge whether the late conduct of Great Britain towards America will not, if persisted in, dissolve the union between the two countries, and America become a separate state.

Ward advocated in the public press various good causes, which have since come to fruition, and always his views were full of faith in the future of his country.

In the same paper, issue of November 25, 1771, Ward wrote :

No institution can better answer the end of government, or tend so much to the preservation of freedom, as the establishment of annual political lectures in the capital town of each Province, or County, in the Kingdom. Such an institution is begun in Massachusetts Bay, and will, we hope, soon be established in every British Province in America, and in each county in Great Britain and Ireland. By annual lectures on government the attention of everyone will be engaged in contemplating this important subject, and deliberating on every interesting matter relating to the general welfare. In these lectures the public interest will be held up to view, errors in government pointed out, and the people instructed in everything relating to their prosperity and happiness.

In 1771, in the *Boston Gazette*, Ward offered America as "an asylum for the oppressed" of Ireland :

Should the sons of virtue in Britain and Ireland, after all their noble efforts in the cause of freedom, be borne down by the torrent of despotism, and liberty be extin-

guished in British realms, America will open her arms wide to receive them; on her friendly bosom of peace and liberty they may spend their tranquil days, and breathe their last in the pure air of freedom.

On the subject of "Education," Ward wrote in the *New Hampshire Gazette*, March 2, 1770:

To the shame of all nations under heaven be it spoken, the education of the female sex is generally neglected by the public; if their parents are not able to instruct them (as is often the case, for the poor generally have the most children), they, however adorned by nature and amiable in their minds, must grope through life in the darkness of ignorance, when nature has fitted them for educated stations and eminent success. Perhaps no people in the world have equaled those of New England, and other parts of America, in their care to instruct the youth; in this they have discovered their great wisdom; this has contributed greatly to their opulence and glory; but even the generous, eagle-eyed Americans have failed in this very important concern; they have not maintained a sufficient number of free schools to instruct all the youth of both sexes, and given sufficient encouragement to persons of genius, to undertake the arduous employment of preceptors.

The excuse for this great neglect is the poverty of the people, which in truth is the strongest argument for maintaining free schools, and giving generous encouragement to virtuous, ingenuous men to employ their time in the tuition of youth, and forming their minds to virtue, for this is the

only way for a people to grow rich. Good education qualifies persons for all employments in life, which are the channels for wealth, and all the delights of life flow in upon a people; and this will forever remain an established maxim: 'That as learning flourishes, or declines, among any people, so in proportion will religion, wealth, power, and liberty.'

May America ever be wise to discern, and pursue the things that belong to her prosperity, and everyone contribute all in their power to this glorious design.

Not only in the newspapers of the period did Ward seek to influence public sentiment, but in private correspondence he appealed to members of the Continental Congress to work for independence. John Adams replied to one of these letters, April 16, 1776: "You seem to wish for Independence; do the resolves for privateering and opening the ports, satisfy you? If not, let me know what will. Will nothing do, but a positive declaration that we never will be reconciled, upon any terms? It requires time to bring all the Colonies of one mind, but time will do it."

Where have we among the leading men of the Revolutionary period the expression of more exalted patriotism, a more hopeful view of the future of the Colonies, their growth in population, in wealth, in virtue, than we find in these writings of Joseph Ward? It is not too much to claim that this Boston schoolmaster was one of the makers of the Revolution which resulted in the Independence of the Colonies. Let us glance at the appli-

cation he made of his theories and principles, and we shall see he was not merely a theorizer and enthusiast, but a practical man of affairs, of deeds, and accomplishment.

At dawn of April 19, 1775, Joseph Ward arrived at his father's house in Newton, secured a horse and musket, and joined Michael Jackson and other Minute-men of Newton and Watertown, to meet and obstruct the British troops marching towards Lexington and Concord. How well he did his part is evidenced by the fact that the next day, April 20th, at 11 o'clock, General Heath (then in command of the Colonial forces) appointed "Mr. Joseph Ward, a gentleman of abilities," his aide-de-camp and secretary. He entered on the duties of his new office, and continued in active service until the spring of 1780. This was the first appointment of the kind in the American Army. (Heath's *Memoirs*.)

On the 19th of May, 1775, Gen. Artemas Ward was placed in command of all the troops raised by the Congress of Massachusetts Bay. He appointed Joseph Ward aide-de-camp and secretary. At the battle of Bunker Hill, June 17th, Ward did conspicuous service, passing to and fro from the headquarters at Cambridge to the troops on Breed's Hill, being exposed in riding over Charlestown Neck to a cross-fire from the enemy's floating batteries, and on one occasion securing the special honor of a broadside from a British man-of-war.

On learning of the incident a few weeks later, on his arrival at Cambridge, Gen. Washington specially commended Ward for his bravery on the day of the battle, and presented him, as a token of his esteem, a brace of pistols, now fondly cherished by his descendants as twin relics of their grandfather and the immortal Washington.

It is interesting to note that the only scrap of writing associated with the battle, known to be in existence, is an order of Col. Ward (acting Colonel) for delivery of ammunition. This order was discovered in the archives of the State, and was reproduced in the Memorial History of Boston.

*June 17, 1775 Major Barber dtd. the
Train bank 100 rounds of ammunition
Ward Colonel 20. 10. 11*

On the 10th of April, 1777, the Continental Congress appointed Joseph Ward "Commissary General of Musters, with the rank of Colonel;" he held this rank and duty until January, 1780, when Congress discontinued the mustering department, and he was appointed Commissary General of Prisoners; but Col. Ward decided that the exigencies of the service no longer demanded the sacrifice of his entire time, and he resigned from the army, resuming his residence in Boston after five years of honorable service with the American Army of the Revolutionary War.



PISTOLS PRESENTED TO COL. WARD BY GEN'L WASHINGTON AT CAMBRIDGE
SHORTLY AFTER THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL.

At one time Col. Ward had the unusual experience of being captured by a scouting party of British, and was held a prisoner of war for several months ; here the character of a soldier tells with more effect than in most of his experiences. To sustain the weak-hearted and cheer the drooping spirits of comrades, to show an un-failing loyalty and courage under unusual trials, brings out the highest manhood, and serves the country well. The Executive Council of Massachusetts exerted many efforts in his behalf, and his release was secured in April, 1779.

We have but little knowledge of the details of Col. Ward's duties, but that they were executed with skill and fidelity we have ample evidence in the letters of Washington preserved by the family.

Some extracts will be of interest. January 21, 1780, Washington wrote to Col. Ward :

You have my thanks for your constant attention to the business of your department, the manner of its execution, and your ready and pointed compliance with all my orders, and I cannot help adding on this occasion, for the zeal you have discovered at all times and under all circumstances to promote the good of the service in general and the great objects of our cause.

Col. Ward says, in his reply :

Should any act of mine survive to distant posterity, may it be this testimony — that I served five years in the armies

of America, under the command of General Washington, and witnessed the even tenor of his life, guided by patriotism, magnanimity and virtue.

March 2, 1780, Washington wrote to Col. Ward :

I am to acknowledge your letter of the 20th of Feb. last. The favorable sentiments of a good man, and one who has executed diligently and faithfully the duties of his station, cannot fail being agreeable.

I thank you for your good wishes ; and mine, be assured, towards you are not less sincere for your happiness and prosperity, in whatever walk of life you may go into.

On returning to Boston in 1780, Col. Ward took up his old avocation of writing for the press, moulding more or less public opinion ; letters to and from John Adams, down to his death, have been preserved, but only an extended biography would suffice to make these now cognizable.

Col. Ward engaged in business as a broker, lending money, and buying and selling investments ; he gradually accumulated a very considerable property, and was a large holder of Massachusetts bonds, Georgia Lands, and the Boston Aqueduct Co. (1802), and finally suffered large losses in many of these hopeful plans. In 1792 he built a fine mansion, for that day, in Newton, on what is now Waverly Avenue, near Ward Street.

In 1784, at the age of forty-seven, Col. Ward married Prudence, daughter of Jacob Bird of Dorchester.



Col. JOSEPH WARD.



Mrs. PRUDENCE (BIRD) WARD.

MINIATURES PAINTED 1786, BY DUNKELLY.

In spite of the disparity of age, — some twenty-five years, — or possibly because of it, the marriage proved a very happy one ; his wife survived him many years, and their children were a comfort and blessing.

In 1786-7, Col. Ward secured a miniature portrait of himself and wife, and presented his own on the second anniversary of their wedding ; on this occasion he lapsed into poetry, as he frequently did, showing him to be a fond, genial husband, with a reverent respect for the possibilities and duties of matrimony.

MY DEAREST DENCY :

This day celebrates two years since our union ; I now present you a miniature picture, accompanied with the following lines as a testimony of my unalterable affection :

Pledge of my Love, this Portraiture behold,
See your Companion set in polished gold, —
Not beauty's pleasing form will you espy,
But mark the honest language of his eye,
His love sincere his passion still the same
As on that morn when first the tender flame
Waked in our minds the nuptial bliss —
Two vernal suns have smiling circles run
Since hands were joined & hearts & fortunes one ;
May He whose eye the universe surveys
With blissful smiles illumine our future days ;
With every virtue bid our offspring rise —
Heirs of glory here, children of the skies.

J. WARD.

BOSTON, November 30, 1786.

If time permitted, it would be interesting to dwell upon many details of the happy family life of Col. and Mrs. Ward for the twenty-eight years until his death in 1812. In spite of reverses in fortune they lived the refined, cultivated life of a Christian family; they were members of the Old South Church, and hospitable to a good degree. It is said Col. Ward in figure and manner much resembled Gen. Washington. John and Hannah Adams seem to have been intimate friends, and the Ticknors were on very friendly terms.

Col. Ward was interred in the tomb of Elisha Ticknor on Boston Common. Mrs. Ward and her daughter Prudence removed to Concord, Mass., about 1832; they were intimate with the Thoreau family, and were active in the intellectual and altruistic life of that memorable period. Mrs. Ward was notable for her courtly carriage, and was generally styled Lady Ward. At her death in 1844, the Anti-Slavery Society placed upon its records the following Minute, for which we are indebted to the courtesy of Mr. Frank B. Sanborn:—

Died in Concord on the 9th inst., Mrs. Prudence Ward, widow of the late Col. Joseph Ward of Boston, aged 79. Mrs. Ward has for many years been a resident of Concord, and has greatly endeared herself to many friends by the urbanity of her manner, the kindness of her heart, and that candor and charity which, while it passed over the defects of her associates as things not to be observed, at the same time sought with eagerness the bright sides to their charac-

ters, and on those alone suffered herself to dwell. This made us always feel safe and happy in her society. In addition to this she had a heart full of compassion for the suffering and the tried, which was probably the cause of her warm interest in the deeply injured, weary, heart-broken slave. For many years she has been a faithful member of our Society, always aiding us by her purse, her sympathies and her labors. Our hearts are tender, and our eyes fill with tears, not chiefly at our own loss, but at the loss the slave has sustained in the removal of this friend. She uniformly and consistently stood by the principles of the old pioneer Society; and we feel that indeed a great void is made in our before much-thinned ranks. But she has gone before the throne of her God and Saviour, where, we love to believe, she will still remember and be employed in the cause she loved while on earth. And we trust that her exit from us will but redouble our efforts for the relief of our suffering brethren and sisters in bonds; so that at least our end, like hers, may be peace.

Mr. Sanborn writes :

This quaintly touching tribute may have been written by Maria Thoreau, the aunt of Henry, Helen and Sophia, who were all intimate with the Ward family. Indeed, almost from their first coming to Concord in 1832-3, the mother and daughter had made their home with one or the other branch of the Thoreau family, then resident in the town. They had heard the early debates at the Concord Lyceum, when the subject of slavery was excluded; they had taken up together the cause of the Cherokee Indians in 1837,

when Mrs. Brooks and the Wards and Thoreaus had caused a public meeting to be held in favor of the Indians of Georgia. . . .

It is manifestly an impossibility in the time fitting to this occasion to do more than hint at the character and extent of the services of this man to his country and his fellow citizens. Col. Joseph Ward has been almost entirely unknown to the people of the centennial generation, and entirely overlooked by historians of the Revolutionary period, and yet he was one who helped largely to make the Revolution possible, and by his five years of army service, notably helped to make it a success.

As Teacher, Soldier, Citizen, a rightful place will surely be awarded in Boston's Hall of Fame to

Col. JOSEPH WARD.



ROBERT ORCHARD,

OF THE ART AND MYSTERY OF FELTMAKERS, OF BOSTON
IN NEW ENGLAND.

BY

WALTER KENDALL WATKINS.





ROBERT ORCHARD,

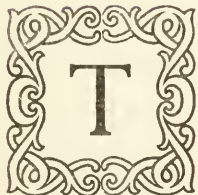
OF THE ART AND MYSTERY OF FELTMAKERS, OF BOSTON
IN NEW ENGLAND.

Of all the felts that may be felt
Give me the English beaver.

Merry Drolleries, 1661.

A PAPER READ TO THE BOSTONIAN SOCIETY, OLD STATE HOUSE,
NOVEMBER 12, 1907, BY

WALTER KENDALL WATKINS.



THE crafts and occupations of the freemen of England were governed by the guilds or trade associations. Only freemen could be members of these Livery Companies. No serf or villein, as the rustic laborer was called, could be of the guilds, branches of which existed in all the larger towns of the kingdom. In London there were twelve great Companies, while there were some sixty minor Companies and as many more associations which have disappeared or merged into the larger Companies. Composed only of freemen, it was from the children of freemen that

their numbers were recruited. No one therefore became an apprentice unless of a freeman born.

The system of apprenticeship dates from early days. In the reign of Edward I we find mention of their enrollment, and that their time of service was seven years. They were also presented to the Master and Wardens of the Company whose duty it was to ascertain whether the apprentice was free by birth, and to prove this they were required to present their certificate of baptism. Their covenant of apprenticeship was enrolled by the town-clerk or chamberlain, and after the term was served, the workman was sworn as a freeman, enrolled as such, and then allowed to follow his trade.

Apprentices were to be clothed in hose, shirt, doublet, gown or cloak, and not suffered to have their hair grown long, *i. e.* "two inches below the lapp of the ear." The records of the Merchant Adventurers Company of Newcastle-on-Tyne, in 1649, recite the appearance before the court of the Company of half a dozen apprentices, and three of these were ordered to go to the barber, to be better trimmed. At the same time three others, who refused to have their hair shortened and superfluous ribbons taken from their clothes, were committed to prison. It was a few years later that it was forbidden to take as an apprentice one base-born, crooked or lame, or who was a "Popish recusant" or Quaker.

At the end of the seventeenth century it became necessary for this Company to curb the behavior and extravagance in dress of its apprentices, and not until they had served their seven years were they permitted to go to fencing or dancing-school, lottery or play-house, to keep horses or dogs for hunting, or fighting-cocks. They were allowed no gold or silver trimming on their apparel or hats; no point-lace or embroidery, no ruffles on their breast, neck or sleeve. Long or short wigs were not to be above the price of fifteen shillings. Their breeches were to be of cloth, kersey, sackcloth, canvas or English leather, and they were not to wear "Spanish shoes with polonia heels." Living in the family of their master, they were to be obedient and not to frequent tavern or alehouse. On meeting members of their craft the apprentice should uncover his head, not slightly but submissively, and with all due respect, and "not cock his hat when spoken to."

London apprentices were always to the fore in the tumults and riots of London streets, especially at Shrovetide, with its cock-fighting and bull-baiting on Collop Monday and Pancake Tuesday. Another gala-day for the workmen was May-day, when the masters of the Companies set up May-poles in the city, and furnished morris dancers, stage plays and bonfires in the streets, all of which conduced to the high spirits of the apprentices.

Tumults of all kinds were the occasion of the use of the club by the apprentice, especially if the object of dispute was one of their number. It was such an occasion in Southwark, in 1592, that drew together certain apprentices of the Feltmakers of Bermondsey Street and Blackfriars. The serving a warrant on a Feltmaker's servant to the Marshalsea was the cause at that time. In 1595 certain city apprentices, sent by their masters to Billingsgate to purchase mackerel, found themselves forestalled by fishwives, who had purchased all the fish and taken the supply to Southwark. Following them, the apprentices seized the fish, with riot and tumult, and paid their own price.

The Feltmakers were an off-shoot of the Haberdashers' Company, and were founded to regulate the manufacture and sale of felt hats. They applied for a charter as early as 1576, but were opposed by the parent Company. They were incorporated by letters patent from James I, in 1604, under the name of "The Masters, Wardens and Commonalty of the Art or Mystery of Feltmakers of London." Felt manufacture, a method of converting hair or wool into cloth without a loom, is traced back by some to St. Clement's time, in the second and third centuries. He reduced carded wool, according to the fable, by treading and natural moisture. The Company obtained new charters from Charles II.

During the seventeenth century the craft was fairly prosperous, but foreign workmen, followed by the establishment of the Hudson Bay Company and the bringing of furs into fashion, dealt a heavy blow to the trade. The revenues of the Company at the present time are inconsiderable, and depend on its honorary liverymen. A principal one in recent days was Mr. W. H. Smith, M. P., of railway-bookstall fame.

Feltnakers' Hall, in the last century, was in Lime street, Leadenhall street; but the Company no longer has a hall, and business is transacted at the Guildhall, or at the office of the clerk in Salisbury square, Fleet street.

The Company is governed by a Master, four Wardens and twenty-five Assistants. The livery, composed of sixty members in the eighteenth century, now has a limited number of one hundred and twenty. Its arms are, on a silver shield a dexter hand couped at the wrist between two hat-bands tied in a knot, while above is a black hat with a blue band.

Its motto is "*Decus et Tutamen*," which indicates that the Puritan hat of our forefathers was regarded as an ornament and defence. The Puritans, with their broad-brimmed hats, were indeed good customers of the Feltnakers, and it is not surprising that we find many of the trade in New England by 1650.

John Newdigate, feltmaker and hatter, was in Boston in 1634. He was born in Southwark, England, and

died in Boston in 1665. When he came to Boston he brought as a servant or journeyman, Theodore Atkinson, who had his house on the north corner of Court and Washington streets, and became a prominent citizen.

In 1659 Atkinson had living with him his nephew, John Atkinson, a young man of twenty-two. Through him John Orchard, then on a vessel in Boston harbor, came to Theodore and said his brother, Robert Orchard, was a hatmaker, and entreated the elder Atkinson to engage him. Captain Sealy, master of the ship, told Atkinson that young Orchard's passage money, seven pounds, was unpaid, and if not settled the man would be sold as a servant. The claim was satisfied, and Atkinson and Orchard, the latter being first supplied with a pair of shoes, repaired to the house of Robert Howard, the notary public, then a man of forty-nine, who took his note book and wrote down the agreement between them. This was on 23 January, 1659/60, and Orchard was to make hats as a journeyman for Atkinson for two years. The indentures thus drawn up were ready in about nine days, but the parties did not come to seal them for several weeks.

One day Atkinson called on Howard and asked him to step round to the house of Governor Endicott, to whom he complained that after having paid out seven or eight pounds on his man Orchard, the latter was not willing to set his hand and seal to the agreement. On being brought to the Governor, Orchard was shown the

indentures, and was asked his objection against them. At first he said he had too little wages, but he agreed as set down he could not deny them. Endicott then asked him "what he stuck at." Orchard answered "I object against the word Indenture; I am a journeyman, not an apprentice; I have served my time." At this Endicott said "Thy objection doth betray thy ignorance, for the word Indenture is usual in most writings wherein mutual dealings are between man and man. I would advise you to perform the covenant." Atkinson and Orchard then went to Howard's house and signed and sealed the agreement.

Young John Atkinson testified that during the year and a half following, while Orchard was at his uncle's house, he also lived there. Orchard during this time spoiled some of the hats on which he was working. Several "castors" he made had "purses in the brim," as hatmakers called them. One beaver hat, when about one-half "walked," had a hole in the side in which a person might put two or three fingers, and on this there could not have been less than forty shillings loss. About eight castors had "purses" that could not have been a "less loss than twelve and eightpence each, or about seven pounds." That whether the man did work or play, he had meat, drink, washing and lodging in Atkinson's house.

After eighteen months' service Orchard left Atkinson, and in 1662 went into the employ of Hugh Wil-

liams, a feltmaker. Williams had a brother John, also a feltmaker, on Bermondsey street — or Burnaby, and sometime Barnabe street, as it was given by the cockneys of London. This street in Southwark was largely occupied by feltmakers at that time.* Hugh Williams came in 1642, and married Sarah Coitmore. He had a house back of the First Church, the site of the present Rogers building. This he sold in 1657, and when Orchard was with him he was living on the west side of Hanover, south of Blackstone street. This he sold in 1664 and went to Block Island.

While working with Williams — partly on his own account — Atkinson had Orchard arrested, alleging that he was yet his apprentice, with four years to serve, and by the testimony of two of Atkinson's servants, Joseph Whiston, or Whetstone, aged twenty, and Samuel Keaies, aged twenty, Orchard had carried away a colored hat, worth about twelve or fourteen shillings; he had cut another hat with a sword, broke the sword, and decamped with a pair of new shoes worth five shillings and sixpence apiece. In his defence, Orchard said the shoes were lying about the house with about twenty other pairs, and he thought he might as well wear them, as they would be spoiled if left uncared for.

* Atkinson mortgaged his house to Captain John Williams, with whom he had long dealt in business. This transaction was in 1674, and was the occasion of a lengthy lawsuit between the two.

Orchard was in prison for some time ; one day Atkinson met on the street Joseph Davis, a feltmaker, and said to him that his proceedings did not arise from any desire of private gain, and that Davis might have Orchard's service, for anything he knew. Davis replied, "That was not his desire, but what he did desire was a speedy issue, and that for the young man to lie in prison was neither credible (*sic*) nor would it be profitable."

Davis at that time (1662) was about twenty-seven. He married that year Elizabeth, daughter of David Saywell, and was a member of the Artillery Company. His house was on the west side of Washington street, near what is now Adams Square, and originally belonged to William Coddington ; Governor Bellingham's was the next house. The remarks of Davis caused Atkinson to take his alleged apprentice from the gaol, and to keep him at work as a prisoner for seven weeks.

When at last cleared by the Court, Orchard hired a house and settled at his calling. But his old employer was not content, and went about among Orchard's customers warning them he was yet his servant. It was through his efforts that on 29 June, 1663, Orchard was fined twenty shillings for entertaining John White as a journeyman, contrary to the town's order. White was then thirty-three years old, and later pursued the calling of a feltmaker at the North End, in a house near the water front, which he bought of Henry Fane. He had hired himself to Orchard for a year, and about Christ-

mas day in 1663, he states Atkinson came to Orchard's house with a constable and a search-warrant. Edward Rudd, aged thirty, was present, and testified that Atkinson asked Orchard how he would sell his wool, who in reply made a price to sell by bill of exchange on England. On this Atkinson pulled a paper from his pocket and said, "Here is a bill of exchange for you," and handing it to the constable, Benjamin Negus, bade him perform his office. Orchard was accordingly arrested, and some unfinished hats and bedding were done up to take away. He immediately sent a messenger to Lieut. Richard Cooke, a prominent merchant and tailor, then fifty-two years old, who came to his aid and gave bonds, one of £200, the other less; notwithstanding this, the hats were carried away.

A few days afterward Orchard was again arrested for theft, by John Pease, constable, on another complaint of his persistent adversary; but he was not put in prison a second time, as Elder James Penn went bail for him. Atkinson also attached a parcel of wool or camel's hair, twenty-three unfinished hats and some working furniture, carrying them away so that White and another servant could not work for six weeks.

The last warrant was issued on the supposition that Orchard had confessed before Governor Endicott that he had stolen a rug and blanket from Atkinson. Of this charge he was cleared. Atkinson then sued Orchard in the County Court to compel him to serve out

his apprenticeship. The Bench refused their verdict and the case went to the Court of Assistants. There Rawson, the secretary, said it should go to the General Court. That body refused it and sent it back to the County Court.

Meanwhile Atkinson was free in his comments about town. John Sanford, aged thirty-nine, in 1665, states that early in that year Atkinson came into his shop and abused Orchard, telling him he was a wretch; that if he were in England his ears should be nailed to the pillory, and further said "I will deal with you according to thy deserts," declaring to Sanford that Orchard was still his servant. In connection with the repeated charges of theft made by Atkinson it may be noted that the rug seized as stolen from him was identified by William Allen, an upholsterer, as one which had been bought of him by the accused.

With the scene in Sanford's shop the quarrel evidently reached its culmination; Orchard brought suit against his adversary for pursuing him in courts and searching for him from town to town by warrants, for slander, and also for preventing his going to England on a voyage to clear himself in his calling. For each of these Orchard asked damages in a considerable sum. In July, 1665, the jury in the County Court gave him a verdict for £40 damages. In the following January Atkinson appealed for a reversion by the County Court, but the jury confirmed the former verdict.

At the Assistants' Court, 30 January, 1665/6, Atkinson brought an action of review. His answers, eight in all, dealt with the different phases of the case. The substance was that everything had been done in conformity with legal requirements; that Orchard had been brought before the Governor, and as the latter had granted warrants, the proceedings throughout had been entirely lawful. He also claimed that Orchard had not cleared himself or been cleared.

Through the verdicts in his favor, Orchard had obtained executions against his opponent, issued in 1663 and 1665, amounting to £96: 3s.: 8d. In the action of review Atkinson was successful, and got a verdict of two-thirds this amount, and an execution for £65 was issued 17 February, 1665/6, against Orchard by the Bench in the Assistants' Court; but the jury found in his favor and confirmed the previous verdict.

As the result of this disagreement, we find the following entry in the records of the General Court under date of 23 May, 1666:—

In the case now depending between Theoder Atkinson pl^t, ag^t Robert Orchard, defen^d, in an action that comes to this Court by y^e disagreement betweene the bench & jury in the last Court of Asistants. the Court, on a hearing of the case & all evidences therein, doe finde for the defend^t tenn pounds & costs of Courts.



His Indenture witnesseth, That Robert

Orchard *son of John Orchard* doth put himselfe Apprentice to *Robert* *Orchard* in the manner of an Apprentice to serve from the *year of the date* of *Robert* *Orchard* unto the full end

and ended. During whi *years* from thence next following to be fully compleate shall serve, his secrets key, his lawful commandments, every where, gladly do. He shall do no damage to his said Master, nor see to be done of others, but that He to his power shall lett, or forth- unlawfully, to any. He shall not commit fornication, nor contra& matrimony within the said term. He shall nor play at Cards, Dice, Tables, or any other unlawful games, whereby his said Master may have any losse. With his own goods or others, during the said terme, without licence from his said Masters service day nor night unlaw- fully. But in all things as a faithfull Apprentice, he shall behave himself toward his said Master, and all his, du- ring the said term. And the said Master his said Apprentice, in the same Art which he useth, by the best means that he can, shall teach and instruct, or cause to be taught and instructed, finding unto his said Apprentice, meat, drink, apparell, lodging, and all other necessaries according to the custome of the City of London, during the said term. And for the true performance of all and every the said Covenants and agreements, either of the said parties are bound unto the other by these presents. In witness whereof, the parties above named, to the Indentures interchangeably have put their hands and seals the *year of our Lord God* *1600* the *day of the month* *of June* in the year of our Lord God, a cording to the Computation of the Church of England One thousand six hundred fifty and

Robert Orchard Clerk.

Robert Orchard his mark

Robert Orchard

6^o May 1662.

Attn: Mr. Theobald in Zimand Brig
London

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in the year 1662
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Attn: Mr. Theobald

Attn: Mr. Theobald
of the English
of the English

It might be well at this point to explain a few things not shown in the preceding statement, which will justify Atkinson to some extent. The indenture of apprenticeship to Richard Hill, now the property of the Bostonian Society, and given in *fac-simile*, shows no evidence that the original was offered at the trial, only a copy having been filed as evidence. The endorsement on it reads as follows:—

6^o May, 1662

Feltmakers }
London }

The Apprentice within named being in New England is turned over to serve the remaynder of his tyme to come in this Indenture and of foure yeares he hath absented himself unto Theodore Atkinson of New England Hattmaker

ED WINNE, Ald

It seems to have been the custom at that time to require that when an apprentice absented himself without leave, the years of his absence should be reckoned to complete his term of service.

The following fragment of a document was formerly in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and has now been transferred to the Suffolk County Court files:—

To all to whome this present writing shall come I Richard Hill feltmaker of London send Greeting Whereas Robert

Orchard sonne of John Orchard deceased did by Indenture under his hand & seale bearing date the xxiiith day of June 1655 Bind himselfe Apprentice according to y^e Custome of the Cittie of London, and of the Company of feltmakers of the same Cittie unto me the Said Richard Hill for the terme of seven yeares from the date of the same Indenture as in & by the same Indentures, whereunto Relation being had more at large, it doth & may appeare. And whereas my Said Apprentice Robert Orchard hath since his binding himselfe Apprentice unto me by Indenture as aforesaid absented himselfe from me foure yeares And is now as I am informed in New England, Now know yee y^t I the said Richard Hill for divers good Causes & Condsideraçons me hereunto moving have assigned & set over, & by these presents doe assigne & set over unto Theodore Atkinson of New England feltmaker As well my said Apprentice Robert Orchard As also the said recited Indenture of Apprenticeshipp by the w^{ch} he is bound Apprentice unto mee, & the terme of fouer yeares, w^{ch} as aforesaid he hath absented himselfe from mee, As also the terme he hath yet to Come & unexpired to serve me as an Apprentice in & by the *

We might refer also to Orchard's statement that the application for a warrant to search his house was prompted by his intention to sail to England, that he might clear himself with those of his calling. Atkinson claimed,

In an account filed in the suit of Atkinson and Williams there is an item of £5 paid Richard Hill, probably to satisfy his claim on Orchard's term of apprenticeship not served out.

however, that Orchard told him he was going there to take up land, worth £50 a year, which his uncle Gibbs had given him, and that Gibbs was intending to make him his heir, having no child of his own. Also that there was £1000 due there for rent.

The legal quarrels of the contestants in 1665/6 seem to have been sufficient for both parties, and the property levied on by the various executions against each was in a peculiar state. Included in the estate of the complainant was a structure known as "Atkinson's warehouse," situated near the Town Dock on the west side of Merchants' Row, and back of State street. In this building Peter Lidgett stored wines in 1679. It had been divided into two parts by a line running east and west, and the north portion, joining the warehouse of John Eyre, was levied on by the execution issued to Orchard. That granted to Atkinson, of two-thirds' value, resulted in his recovery of all but the east third of the north half,—a space twenty feet and four inches which fronted on Merchants' Row, and was eighteen feet deep.

The great fire of 8 August, 1679, burnt this warehouse, with thirty-four others, and seventy-seven houses, leaving nothing but a cellar-hole. The residence of Experience Willis adjoined the site, and he asked Mr. Atkinson if he might make a hogsty in the cellar. This request was granted. As Orchard passed the spot one day, he spied the sty and asked who built it. Willis

confessing that he did, Orchard said "The land is my land," whereupon Willis remarked, "Then I become your tenant." Orchard, hoping to receive rent for it, told him to keep it there till he should order it to be taken away.

Atkinson's son, Theodore, was killed in the Swamp Fight in 1675, and his widow married Henry Deering, who purchased the right of his step-son to his father's property, and desiring to build on the cellar, warned Willis to remove his pig-sty. As Orchard was in England about this time, the sty was taken away, and Deering built a shop which was occupied by Joseph Lowell, cooper. Upon his return, finding the shop on the site, he brought suit in 1696 against Lowell for rent, and recovered judgment in the Superior Court of Judicature. Deering brought suit against Orchard for his rights, and finally, 15 November, 1698, Orchard conveyed one-third of the north half to Deering, thus finally settling the trouble which had lasted thirty-five years.

It was in the year 1683 that Orchard brought suit against John Butler and recovered judgment on some land at the North End, on the street leading to the "Red Lyon Tavern." This land had been left to Susanna, wife of John Butler, by her father, Nathaniel Gallop. Margaret, the widow of the latter, having a life interest in the estate, sued Orchard in 1699 for the rents of the property, and judgment was given her.

Orchard seems to have had a strong sympathy for the Royalists. In fact he claimed that his father, John Orchard, spent his life and fortune in the service of Charles I. After he left the employ of Theodore Atkinson he enlisted in 1664 as a private soldier on one of the King's ships then about to undertake the capture of New York from the Dutch.

After this, he settled down to his trade in Boston, but being averse to the puritanical principles of the people, he felt they were prejudiced against him, notwithstanding his good service and suffering in King Philip's War in 1675, when he served with the rank of sergeant in Captain Daniel Hinchman's company.

As an inhabitant of Boston he was liable for service with his servants on the town watch. While ill he was notified to perform that duty, and was fined for not doing so. Not paying, his goods were levied on by officers accompanied by a file of musketeers. Goods imported by him from England, where he paid duties on them, were again taxed here and a fine levied for non-payment.

In 1675 the General Court prohibited the transportation from the Colony of sheep's wool and raccoon skins, and the town of Boston appointed Orchard to inspect vessels and execute the law for the year 1676. The first vessel he boarded was one belonging to Hudson Leverett, son of the Governor. For this he was

threatened, and Governor Leverett said if he had been present he would have thrown Orchard overboard. Disgusted with this course of action, Orchard prepared to go to England and appeal to the King against the treatment received. His intention becoming known, he was fined for not serving in the train-band. While attending to this matter the vessel sailed, and he was forced to travel to Virginia, and take passage thence to England, where he arrived in 1682.

These facts he recited in a petition to the King and Privy Council, and asked that the trade with the Indians be open to all. 27 July, 1683, he again petitioned the Lords of Trade and Plantations.

In the General Court Records, under 1683, we find :

The petition exhibbitted by Robert Orchard to his majesty, together with the order of his majesty & most hono^{ble} council made thereupon, being delivered by the sajd Orchard 22nd February, instant, being about five moneths after his arrivall, and by them read and considered, it is ordered, that the sajd Robert Orchard have liberty, without costs or charges, to present his complaint to this Court, or to any other court that may take cognizance thereof, against any that have done him wrong in the execution of their office, or to have a review of any judgement that hath binn passed against him; if upon a full hearing of the case it appeare he hath binn any wayes wronged, he may have right donn him.

The answer of the Massachusetts agents, Joseph Dudley and John Richards, to the authorities of the Crown, is dated 31 August, 1683. It denies Orchard's charges and shows him to have been treated as all inhabitants were, and without severity. He was also accused of beating one of the clerks of the train-band when he came to collect a fine. 11 June, 1684, Orchard was still in London waiting on the Attorney-General, the Lords having agreed that no remedy could be given until the Charter of Massachusetts was vacated.

13 May, 1685, Orchard, claiming that the Charter was void, prayed for relief, and Colonel Kirke, who was about to go to New England, was instructed in the case.

The matter hung on, from the unsettled condition of affairs in Boston. 18 May, 1687, it was referred to Sir Edmund Andros; 30 July, 1687, King James II specially instructed Andros to inquire into the case and procure redress; 30 December, 1687, the minutes of the Council for New England referred it to the Judges for action.

Orchard, no doubt, frequently visited New Amsterdam as a trader. We find him there in the summer of 1680. He was at a tavern with two friends from Woodbridge, New Jersey, drinking at a table, when Cornelius Corsen and three other Dutchmen accosted him. First, one of them came, turned his hat round on his head and spoke rude and angry words to him. On remonstrating, another came and threw his hat on the floor.

When he asked the meaning of such actions the four beat and bruised him, and dragged him on the floor, and wounded him in the head with knives. The assault was accompanied with such remarks as "Slay the English Hound!" Meeting John Archer, the sheriff, on the street and complaining, Orchard was told "Much good may it do you ; we Dutchmen shall meet you again." Later he was fined £13 in the Mayor's court for speaking unbecoming words of the Governor. This he denied in a petition to Andros, and later Corsen and his associates were fined 40 shillings each, and ordered to pay the surgeon's and sheriff's fees.

Orchard owned a decked shallop of about ten tons, of which Philip Pendexter was master. An Act of Parliament required all vessels of Great Britain and the Plantations to be registered. The "Mary," (Orchard's vessel), which was built in the Plantation, imported, 23 September, 1698, into Boston from Louisburg, a cargo of sea coal. Not being registered she was seized by Laurence Hammond, Deputy Collector and Searcher of Customs.

But a more serious state of affairs was to ensue. The ship "Adventure" of London, commanded by Captain Thomas Gullock, sailed for Borneo. Joseph Bradish and others piratically took possession of the vessel, and left her commander and others on an island. Bradish was a citizen of Cambridge, being a son of Joseph and

Mary Bradish of that town. Orchard ran across this man off Block Island, and took from him money and goods belonging to Gullock, and delivered them to Governor Cranston of Rhode Island.

On 10 April, 1699, Bradish, having been brought to Boston two days before, was committed to the prison. On 24 June, 1699, about nine in the evening, Kate Price, a maid, assisted Bradish and a seaman, Tee Witherell, or Witherly, to escape. The three fled to Woburn and stopped at Fowle's house, where John Bradish, a brother of Joseph, brought them some money which had been hid in a stocking-leg in Cambridge. They were recaptured and brought back, 26 October, 1699, and Caleb Ray, keeper of the prison, was indicted by the grand jury for allowing them to escape, but was later declared not guilty; he had been removed from his office 25 July, 1699.

On 16 February, 1699/1700, Bradish, Witherly, Captain Kidd and other pirates were sent on board the "Advice," frigate, for England, where they were tried and executed.

On 8 December, 1699, Captain Gullock dined with Colonel Nicholas Paige and Judge Sewall, but in the following March he was committed to prison for contempt in sending the Governor and Council an insolent writing.

Orchard, by acting as a go-between to Bradish and the Rhode Island Government, rendered himself liable

to suspicion of giving aid to the pirates and dealing with them. 3 April, 1699, Orchard was sent to prison by Elisha Cook, son of Richard Cook, who had befriended and bailed him thirty-six years previously. He languished in prison for over two years, until discharged by the Superior Court of Judicature, 6 May, 1701.

The prison-keeper who succeeded Ray was Daniel Willard, son of Major Simon Willard. He presented a bill to Orchard for services, drinks in the house, and rent for a chamber, from July, 1700, to June, 1701, at nine shillings per week. As this was not paid, Willard sued him in court.

About 1670, Orchard bought of John Morse a piece of land on Tremont street just south of School street. It originally belonged to Zacheus Bosworth. It had a frontage of forty-seven feet on Tremont street and a depth of about sixty-five feet. Here he had his shop and house.

It was in this house in 1683, while Orchard was in England, that his servant, Charles Lawrence, invited a young man and neighbor, Joseph Phillips, to visit him. There Phillips found Thomas Forty and other privateers from the ship "Algier Rose," commanded by Captain William Phips, then lying in the harbor of Boston. Surrounding a great bowl of punch, the jolly mariners danced to the music of a treble viol. In the merry-making Phillips had his hat and coat cut, and lost forty pounds out of his pocket. Forty was a boon compan-

ion of Lawrence, and frequently enticed him to the Rose and Crown tavern on State street, and other similar resorts, to carouse.

Orchard also owned land on Sea, now Federal street, and land in Hanover at Drinkwater Mill, which he sold in 1696 to Edward Wanton of Scituate.

He married about 1668, and by wife Sarah had Mary, born in 1669, Mehetabel 1673, Anna 1675, Joseph in 1679, and Virtue in 1681. Of the daughters, Mary married John Pim, gunsmith; Mehetabel married Francis Rumery; and Anna married John Guy. In 1705 Orchard brought suit against Guy for various services, at which time his wife Sarah was still living. John and Anna (Orchard) Guy had a son born 11 November, 1702, in Boston, named Orchard Guy.

Among the other feltmakers of Boston contemporary with Orchard were John Penniman, on the north corner of Summer and Washington streets, who died in Albany in 1686; John Tapping, on Washington street, near the north corner of Water street and next the Blue Anchor Tavern; John Bull, who afterward kept the Bull Tavern at the foot of Summer street; James Mears, who later kept a tavern just south of Water street on Washington street, and also on Boston Neck; John Clough, at the South End, where was Clough street, now Hollis street; John Fisher, John White and Joseph Davis have already been mentioned. William Gilbert, whom Orchard hired

in England as a servant or journeyman for two years, left his employer, and in 1677 was complained of by Orchard for so doing, and "for setting up in the trade of feltmaker."

He took the oath of a freeman 11 November, 1678. On 6 October, 1709, we find Robert Orchard witness to the will of Walter Bridery, mariner of New York, and at that time he must have nearly reached threescore and ten.



NOTE.

Through the kindness of Mr. Frederick L. Gay, of Brookline, a member of our Society, we give the following transcript of the petition of Robert Orchard mentioned on page 96 preceding:

To the King's Most Exct. Maty and the Right Honble. the Lords of His Mats. Most Honble. Privy Councill.

The humble Petition of Robert Orchard an Inhabitant and Trader in Boston in New England.

Sheweth

That your Petrs ffather having spent his Life & ffortune in the Loyall and ffaithful service of His late Maty of Blessed Memory, and thereby utterly disabled and left destitute all his children, your Petr. of meer necessity was forced to list himself as a Private Soldier on board one of His Mats ships to the Reducing the Province of New York in America then in the Possession of the Dutch after the Effecting whereof your Petr. settling himself in Boston where being observed by those People to be averse to their Principles many abuses and undue and illegall Impositions were put upon him notwithstanding his service done them agst. the Indians in the late warr, wherein he was exposed to the greatest dangers and extreamest Hardships to the apparent Hazard of his Life a tedious sickness ensuing the same to his exceeding great Damage; and in stead of Recompensing your

Petr as a Soldr for the considerable service he performed in that warr, the said Authority in the time of his said extream Indisposition commanded your Petr himselfe and all his servants to watch, which your Petr as far as he could complied with, sending all his servants accordingly yet neverthe less shortly after was fined for watching at that time of his said Sickness and the ffine levied on his goods in his absence by officers attended by several ffles of Musqueteers presented before his house, into which they so marched to the great affrightment of your Petrs wife and ffamily, and the amazement of all spectators.

And your Petr having several goods exported out of England where the Custom thereof was duly payd, Custom was also demanded upon other Importation at Boston which your Petr humbly conceives is repugnant to your Mats. Laws and the Liberties of your Mats. Subjects; and your Petr not forthwith paying the same was fined ten pounds and his goods levied to a much greater value whereof your Petr could have no acct

That the said Authority having made a very commodious Law for Prohibiting ye Exportation of Wool and Raccoons ffur appointed your Petr upon oath to inspect the same But his first actual service therein being on board a ship whereof the then governors son was owner he was by the govr & authority obstructed and exceedingly discountenanced and threatened the govr giving out that himself had he been on board would have thrown your Petr over

That by those and several other acts of Injustice of the said Authority and others by their sufferance being in the highest measures aggrieved resolved upon making his humble application and appeal to your Maty. and this Honble Board, which being reported, and your Petitioner and his Goods being shipped in order thereunto, a ffine was levied upon his goods for not then actually being on the Trained Bands and your Petr coming on shore to

settle that matter before his departure lost his voyage; and afterwards the merchants there in general were so prevailed with that he could not obtain a Passage on any Terms whatever, but was forced to travell by Land from thence to Virginia, being a vast Length to his great Charge and the extream hazard of his life.

The said Authority do take upon them to impower and appoint a certain person in each respective Province or Place to buy all ffurs of the Indian Natives, and without your Mats Consent, Concurrence prohibiting all other your Mats subjects there to have any dealings or Commerce with the Natives for ye same.

Your Petr therefore most humbly prays your most sacred Maty and this Honble Board to take the Premises into your consideration and be pleased to order the same authority to make satisfaction to your Petr for his goods unjustly taken from him and Damage for the same; As also satisfaction for all other Injuries done unto him as your May in your Princely wisdom shall think fit

And may it further please your Maty for the Benefit of your good Subjects there to command that your Petr and all other Persons may have ye Priviledges to trade wth ye Indian Nation in any Part of New England without any Interruption whatsoever

And your Petr Shall &c

(Endorsed) Petition of Robt. Orchard. B. E. N. 9



BOSTON

AS IT APPEARED TO A FOREIGNER

AT THE

BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

THE paper which follows is from a manuscript in the Society's collections, and contains a lively account of the town and some of its customs as they appeared to a stranger who landed here a little more than a century ago. Unfortunately his name is not given in the document, and is unknown to the Publication Committee.

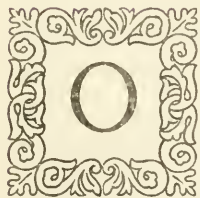
The illustration is a reduced copy of a colored print in the Society's collection, entitled "A View of Boston taken on the South Side of Boston," of which the Society has a duplicate, differently colored. The steeple shown at the right of the State House (Park-street Church), with several other additions, was *painted in* on the print from which the illustration was made, after that had been colored, thus differing from the original. A portion of the picture at the right, showing the extreme North End and the masts of the shipping there, is necessarily omitted in the illustration. The original is signed "J. L. Boqueta de Woiseri, fecit." Its date is approximately fixed by the fact that the Dover-street bridge, shown at the left, was under construction in the latter part of 1804; the double tower of Hollis-street Church appears above the small vessel at the left; this Church was removed in 1810; Park-street Church was built in 1809. The original must therefore date between 1805 and 1809, and the print with the additions a little later.



BOSTON

AS IT APPEARED TO A FOREIGNER AT THE BEGINNING
OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

FROM AN ANONYMOUS MS. IN THE SOCIETY'S COLLECTION.



ON the morning of the third of July, the vessel having come to anchor, the passengers were landed at the Stairs on Long Wharf. Most of us having no acquaintance in the town, agreed to go together to one of the best taverns. And as my friend told me that it was the invariable custom to put as many beds into a sleeping room as it could contain, and at least two persons in each, I was glad to take up with his offer of pairing off with him while we remained in the place. Having engaged our lodgings and ascertained the hour when dinner was usually served, we set

out upon an exploring expedition, looking in at some of the shops, most of which were kept in a small room in the front part of a dwelling house, — the sitting room of the family opening into the shop.

Though the main street* is very narrow and crooked, there is a wooden pump in the middle of it, with an iron bowl suspended by a chain, for the accommodation of wayfarers. This pump not only serves for supplying the neighborhood with water, but furnishes a standing joke for the place — articles not intended to be paid for being always charged to its account; though, as there are other pumps placed in the same manner, exactly in the middle of the street, that the inhabitants on each side may be equally accommodated, I am not sure but they may have some share in its liabilities.

The town has quite a rural appearance after leaving the main street, there being more trees than houses in

* The "main street" at this time was no doubt what is now Washington street, and the "pump" was near the corner of Court street. From near Dock square to School street, it was "Cornhill"; it there took the name of "Marlborough" street, and became "Newbury" street at West street; south of Essex street it was called "Orange" street to the "Neck," and beginning at the narrowest part of the Neck, near Dover street, it was Washington street to Roxbury and beyond. In 1824 these various names for different portions of the same thoroughfare, which followed an English custom still in vogue, were given up, and the entire street from Dock square to the Roxbury line became Washington street. There was another pump in the middle of State street, opposite the easterly front of the Old State House.

the short street* through which we passed to the Common, — a piece of pasture land with a small pond in the middle of it, and surrounded by low wooden posts with one or two rails between them. At the north corner of the Common stands the State House, which is built on very high ground, with still higher ground rising behind it. This is named Beacon, though generally pronounced Bacon Hill, on the top of which is a small monument. We ascended the hill by a flight of rickety wooden steps, and had a fine view of the town and vicinity, as well as of the harbor.

In passing down the street, after we left the hill, one of the church bells began to ring, when I observed a large number of men, who were at work framing a building, immediately drop their tools and stand looking up with one hand in such a position as to give the appearance of looking through a spy-glass. While further down the street, another squad, dropping their tools in the same manner, went into a small building in which those that I could see through the open door appeared to be performing the same ceremony. On inquiring into this, as it appeared to me, religious observance, I

* This "short street" was probably Winter street, on the southerly side of which was the home of Samuel Adams, with a garden, near the corner of Washington street. A little farther south, and fronting on Tremont street (then known as Common street), were the Apollo Gardens. As the writer approached the State House, he passed up "Centry" street, as Park street was then called.

was told that owing to the dryness of the climate it had become necessary for the people to "wet their necks" often, and it had been found convenient to set apart the hours of eleven, A. M., and four, P. M., for that purpose; and that such was the force of habit, that, though no bell was rung off at four o'clock, all who were natives of the place could tell the hours to a minute by the dryness of their throats.

Having a little more time to spare before dinner, we went down to take a look at Faneuil Hall, or as it is generally called, "Old Funnel." This is a rather plain-looking though large building for the place, the lower part of it being taken up by butchers' stalls, while a one-story building of about the same length, on the north side, called the "Sauce Market," is used for the sale of vegetables — going here by the name of "Green Sarse." It being near noon and in hot weather, the place was nearly deserted; but I was told that at some seasons of the year the narrow space around these buildings was crowded with the market wagons of those who did not come often enough to have any permanent place of business. Immediately behind these buildings is the Town Dock, a receptacle for dead cats and all uncleanness, and which, at low tide especially, like a rose "by any other name would smell as sweet."

At the head of the Dock, two boats, or scows, are moored for the sale of oysters, wholesale and retail; and for the accommodation of those who wish to eat them

on the spot, they have a rough bench furnished with saucers and forks, vinegar cruet and pepper box, and a plate of hard biscuit, called crackers. Many persons eat them in this way—probably thinking it cruel to leave them too long out of their jackets—and some even going so far as to transfer them directly from the shells to their mouths as fast as they are opened; and as they are measured before they are opened the amount that one man can eat seems much greater than it really is. As there is but one man in attendance in each boat, and the place is small, it would seem that they could not accommodate many customers, but what is wanting in space is more than made up for in time, for, such is the astonishing celerity with which they are despatched, that none but an eye-witness to the fact could believe it.

Of this faculty of stowing away provisions I had still further proof soon after. As we were entering the tavern they were just ringing the bell for dinner, but I was scarcely seated before more than one half of the company had left the table. And though by no means a great eater and eating faster than I had ever done before, I had not eaten half my usual allowance before the waiters, hostlers and female “help,” as servants are here called, had taken their places at the table.

After dinner we went to a beautiful bathing place back of Ropewalks on the southwest side of the Common,—a handsome, clean beach, at the foot of a high gravel bank called “Fox Hill.” After enjoying our-

selves for a while, we passed under the Ropewalks and came out on the Common where they were making preparations for the next day — the “Glorious Fourth.” A party of men were at work on a small eminence near the pond, building a staging for the exhibition of fireworks, the cost of which had been subscribed for by a number of patriotic individuals, while others were at work in that part called the Mall, at the east corner, putting up frames to be covered with canvas, to serve as tents for the sale of refreshments for the multitude that would appear the next day.

My short allowance at dinner, together with the bath, having given me a ravenous appetite, and seeing a man selling ginger-bread from a sort of covered wheelbarrow, I proposed buying some and going to a retired spot to eat it, thinking that in this way I might learn the trick at which all the natives seemed so expert. This was agreed to, and having each taken a sheet of the cake, we sat down on the grass under the shade of a tree, and commenced operations. The cake being divided into small squares of about two inches, I was breaking off about the fourth of a square as a pretty good sized mouthful, when my companion said “That’s no way to eat gingerbread,” at the same time breaking off a whole square and closing his jaws over it as a dog would have done upon a fly. Seeing how quickly this disappeared, I tried, first upon half a square, and next upon a whole one with such success as to give me some hopes of soon

being able to compete with those who were "to the manner born." Having, between us, about a dozen squares left, my friend, who was fond of practical jokes, called to some boys who were playing at some distance off, and told them that he would give them each one if they would follow his directions. These were for all to begin together, eat as fast as they could, and, when he gave the word, to swing their hats and say Hurra! But, quick as they were, he was a little too quick for them. For, their mouths being dry, and they having stowed in the cake faster than they could swallow it, when the word was given the fine crumbs flew into the air like smoke from as many guns, thus proving that they had not yet divested themselves from the habit of chewing.

The place where the boys were playing was called the Devil's Rock, or by those who did not like to make use of such a name, the Wishing Rock,* the virtues of which were such that, as I was very seriously informed, if I should run three times round it, and then rest my head upon it, whatever I might wish for in that position would come to pass. Not having had sufficient faith to try it, I can give no positive opinion as to its efficacy.

In my rambles about town I observed that at all the houses where the front door happened to be open there were a number of painted leather buckets hanging con-

* This was near the Joy street entrance to the Common.

spicuously over the stairs, so that they could be conveniently reached from the third or fourth step. On inquiry I found that all the principal inhabitants of the place were members of fire companies, whose duty it was to repair to the house of any one of their number whose premises happened to be in imminent danger, as well as to meet once a year for the purpose of eating a good dinner and having a good time generally. These companies are entirely distinct from the engine companies, for while the former are composed of the principal business men who can be relied upon for insuring the safety of any article that may be saved from the flames, the members of the latter are generally the strongest and most active of the mechanics who, by frequent practice, have become so expert in their calling that it is only in rare instances that fires ever extend beyond the building in which they originate; the wooden walls of houses being sometimes left standing after the inside has been entirely destroyed.

As small fires are of frequent occurrence, I have had many opportunities of observing their method of proceeding in such cases. This is for all without distinction to rush towards the scene of action with as many buckets as they can gather on the way; and then for the firewards — officers chosen annually by the people for the purpose — to arrange the men and boys in double lines from each engine to the nearest place where water can be procured. The full buckets are then

passed from one to another along one line till they are emptied into the tubs of the engines, when they are tossed from one to the other along the other line until they again reach the water. Though the duty assigned to each is generally faithfully performed, there will now and then occur a case of delinquency, which is sure to receive its punishment upon the spot; for if any one without authority should attempt to break through the line, he must be an active man indeed to escape the contents of all the buckets within reach, which will be sure to be discharged at him. By such arrangements, the most perfect order is generally preserved, and all unnecessary damage is avoided. The members of the fire company, with whom the occupant of the premises is connected, go systematically to work in removing the goods, stowing away small articles in the canvas bags with which they are always provided; and the engine companies, while some of their number are tearing away such wood-work as interferes with their operations, force up a constant stream of water which is supplied to them by the people in the lines. Unless there is a violent gale or a scarcity of water, they will soon have the fire under their control.

I afterwards learned that, in addition to the legitimate duties of firemen, the engine companies have been sometimes called upon to quell a riot, and with good effect. The quarrels between the boys of different sections of the town having for a long time been winked at by the

authorities, were at length converted into serious riots by the interference of ignorant foreigners; on one of these occasions an alarm of fire having been sounded, the engine men turned out with their tubs filled ready for action, and finding no fire to play upon, directed their streams upon the rioters, who dispersed forthwith. It was thus found that fire engines were much better than firearms for such purposes, as they possessed all the good without any of the bad effects. The equipment of a fire company consists of four leather buckets, as many canvas bags and a bed-key.

As the principal business street is very narrow, and most of the buildings are occupied by the families of the shopkeepers, it is often rendered nearly impassable by a large congregation of boys of all ages, who, in addition to occupying a great part of the sidewalk for their various games, will, in rainy weather, vary their amusement by making ponds in the carriage-way between. And when a drove of pigs passes through the streets there is a grand rush after them, the boys shouting "Here comes the Charlestown folks," catching the smaller pigs by their tails and throwing them over the others, or into the shop-doors and entry-ways, as well as scattering them over the sidewalks in the way of pedestrians, who, in addition to their other annoyances, are sometimes greeted with a shower of feathers or flour thrown from some upper window by some of the smaller children.

But all this is nothing to what takes place in the winter months. After every snow storm the inhabitants for their own convenience, as well as in compliance with a law to that effect, shovel the snow from the sidewalks into the middle of the street. And this, with the addition of what comes from the roofs and backyards of the houses, especially when storms are frequent and there is a continuance of cold weather, will often raise the carriage-way five or six feet above the footpath, on which sleighs are often landed wrong side up, when, from necessity or carelessness, they come too near the edge; the danger of such an overturn is augmented by mischievous boys, who sometimes amuse themselves by making what they call ovens in the bank of snow.

There is yet another source of annoyance occasioned by the thaws which frequently take place when the streets are in this condition. Sufficient provision not having been made for the escape of the water, it will occasionally accumulate at the crossing of two streets, so that people sometimes find themselves over boots in water where there appeared to be firm footing; and instances have been known where a man has gone full length under water in the middle of the street. The sudden freezing which generally follows these thaws gives an opportunity for the boys to practice a rather dangerous game—that of forming sliding places in streets which have a steep descent. Here, between school-hours, they will gather in large numbers and

keep in constant motion, sliding down in an upright position in one path, and then running up another path to take their turn again. In this amusement they not only often get what they call an "Irish hoist" themselves, but are the occasion of dangerous falls to all who are obliged to pass such places in the night or after a slight fall of snow.

There is another of their amusements which, though it would be in some cases extremely dangerous, has never been attended with any worse consequences than that of giving a cold bath to such as were not active enough to avoid it, and which always constitutes the closing scene of a skating match whenever the weather proves favorable. When this is the case the ice, by the constant motion of a large number of persons over its surface, acquires a wavy motion to which the boys have applied the term "kettlybenders." As soon as this motion is perceived, the knowing ones will immediately begin skating together in squads, which will soon bring the ice into such a state that if all stopped in one place for an instant they would be sure to go through. The only safety now consists in keeping in constant motion; for though the ice may be strong enough to bear the weight of one alone in any place, it will not do for him to stop while there are so many on the watch for the opportunity to "cut him in." This is done by a number acting in concert, skating swiftly by, when the rising wave that follows the moving mass, acting in opposition

to the downward tendency of the stationary one, lets him through as certainly as if he had jumped upon the ice from some height above. Though this trick was generally performed by several boys acting in concert, it was said that it could be done by one alone.

At cutting figures on the ice, 'twas said
Bob Swift no equal had, the country round.
But Billy Spry once took it in his head
That he a way to cut him out had found.
When satisfied that he the trick had learn'd,
He made the trial where the ice was thin:
And passing quickly by him as he turn'd,
Not only cut him out, but cut him in.



FUNERAL PROCESSIONS

IN BOSTON

FROM 1770 TO 1800.

IN the collections of the Bostonian Society there are many old Broad-sides, Hand-bills, Placards, etc., issued at various times in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which contain interesting material concerning the early history of our City. From the nature of the case these had a somewhat ephemeral character, not having been in pamphlet form, and therefore not readily preserved after the occasion which called them forth had passed. Many of those which have come down to us are of great rarity, and consequently but little known except to a few collectors. The Committee on Publications propose that from time to time some of these documents shall be printed, bringing together in a single paper those relating to kindred topics. In the following pages will be found accounts or programmes of three Funeral Ceremonies, compiled from contemporary newspapers and handbills in the Society's Library, with some additions from the State Archives.



FUNERAL PROCESSIONS

IN BOSTON.



IT was customary in Boston, as elsewhere until late in the nineteenth century, to conduct solemn and elaborate obsequies when paying final tribute to the dead — especially those in high official position, or who had won the esteem of their fellow-citizens by distinguished service.

The history of Boston records many such ceremonials between the years 1631 and 1865 ; in the first named year Thomas Dudley, later Governor of the Massachusetts Bay, in one of his letters to the Countess of Lincoln, wrote of what was probably the first public funeral in Boston : "Among others who died about this time was Mr. Robert Welden, whom in the time of his sickness, we had chosen to be captain of one hundred

foote ; but before hee tooke possession of his place, hee dyed the sixteenth of February and was buried as a soldier with three vollies of shott." In the latter year, 1865, Boston paid merited funeral honors to Abraham Lincoln, sixteenth President of the United States.

Among others so distinguished from time to time by our citizens were Presidents Harrison and Taylor, Ex-Presidents Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Monroc, Madison and Jackson ; with Hamilton, Lafayette, Webster and Everett.

The passing of the custom is perhaps to be regretted on some accounts, for the human mind is never more deeply impressed than by the measured tread of armed hosts accompanied by fraternal societies and other organized bodies of citizens escorting a funeral car, while the air resounds with the solemn strains of dirge or funeral march.

Today in the beginning of the twentieth century, such public honors are the exception ; the last tribute even to our prominent citizens is rendered in a more quiet but not less dignified and expressive manner, and who shall deny that the new is better than the old.

In the following pages are reprinted, from original documents in the collections of the Bostonian Society, accounts of three such processions which occurred in Boston in the eighteenth century.

The Massacre procession was the visible expression of grief and anger resulting from an event which

was, though trivial in itself, momentous in its consequences.

To Washington, Boston, in common with the entire land, paid funeral honors commensurate with the illustrious career of him whom we delight to call, even to this day, "The Father of His Country."

The others, so honored, were citizens of the community, distinguished in life among their fellows and remembered in death by us who profit by their labors.

VICTIMS OF THE BOSTON MASSACRE.

The circumstances which brought about the event known in our local history as "The Boston Massacre," need not be detailed here. The trouble between the people and the soldiers of the Twenty-ninth Regiment of the King's troops culminated on the evening of March 5, 1770, nearly opposite the easterly front of the Old State House. It has been fully described in the official publication, prepared by a committee of which the Hon. James Bowdoin was the Chairman, entitled "A Short Narrative of the Horrid Massacre," etc., printed by order of the Town of Boston in pursuance of a vote adopted at a town-meeting held March 19, 1770; this was reprinted with notes by John Doggett, Jr., in 1849. The late Frederick Kidder published (Albany, 1870) a "History of the Boston Massacre," etc., in which the "Short Narrative" is reprinted, with a full account of the trial of the soldiers, the arguments of the counsel

on both sides, and the charge of Judge Edmund Trowbridge, one of three Justices of the Superior Court of Judicature, who heard the case. This trial was held in Boston, November 27, 1770. The "Narrative" contains nearly one hundred depositions of those who witnessed the firing, or were otherwise brought into the case.

Those who were killed by the fire of the troops were Samuel Gray, James Caldwell, Samuel Maverick and Crispus Attucks,* a mulatto, who were interred in the Granary Burying-ground. Patrick Carr was mortally wounded in the affray, and died March 14; he was buried with the others a few days later.

The eight soldiers who fired on the people were defended by John Adams and Josiah Quincy, Jr., and six were acquitted by the jury and discharged; the other two were found guilty of manslaughter, "prayed the benefit of the clergy, which was allowed them, and thereupon they were each of them burnt in the hand in open court, and discharged."

* He was a sailor, known otherwise as William Brown, and who also, as appears from a manuscript note by the late Jeremiah Colburn in the Society's collections, had still another name, for as Mr. Colburn wrote, "In the Leffingwell collection of Autographs sold April 15, 1890, is the original document signed by the coroner's jury on the body of Michael Johnson, alias Crispus Attucks." See also Kidder's History, p. 29, and an article by A. C. Goodell, Jr., printed in the *Boston Advertiser* of June 3, 1887, and subsequently issued in pamphlet form.

The *Boston Gazette and Country Journal* of March 12, 1770, describes the obsequies at considerable length. As it seems to have been the largest assemblage of the kind that had till then gathered in Boston, the following extracts from that paper will be of interest :

Laſt Thurſday, agreeable to a general Requeſt of the Inhabitants, and by the Conſent of Parents and Friends, were carried to their *Grave* in Succeſſion, the bodies of *Samuel Gray*, *Samuel Maverick*, *James Caldwell*, and *Criſpus Attucks*, the unhappy Victims who fell in the bloody Maſſacre of the Monday Evening preceding !

[Four coffins, ſide by ſide, on which were “emblems of mortality.”]

On this Occaſion moſt of the Shops in Town were ſhut, all the Bells were ordered to toll a ſolemn Peal, as were alſo thoſe in the neighboring towns of Charleſtown, Roxbury, &c. The Proceſſion began to move between the Hours of 4 and 5 in the Afternoon ; two of the unfortunate Sufferers, viz. Meſſ. *James Caldwell* and *Criſpus Attucks*, who were Strangers, borne from Faneuil-Hall, attended by a numerous Train of Perſons of all Ranks ; and the other two, viz. Mr. *Samuel Gray*, from the Houſe of Mr. Benjamin Gray, (his Brother) on the North-ſide the Exchange, and Mr. *Maverick*, from the Houſe of his diſtreſſed Mother Mrs. *Mary Maverick*, in Union-Street, each followed by their reſpective Relations and Friends : The ſeveral Hearſes forming a Junction in King-Street, the Theatre of that inhuman Tragedy ! proceeded from thence thro’ the Main-Street, lengthened by an immenſe Concourſe of People, ſo numerous as to be obliged

to follow in Ranks of six, and brought up by a long Train of Carriages belonging to the principal Gentry of the Town. The Bodies were deposited in one Vault in the middle Burying-ground: The aggravated Circumstances of their Death, the Distress and Sorrow visible in every Countenance, together with the peculiar Solemnity with which the whole Funeral was conducted, surpass Description.

* * * * *

It is supposed that there must have been a greater Number of People from Town and Country at the Funeral of those who were massacred by the Soldiers, than were ever together on this Continent on any Occasion.

Among other Matters in the Warrant for the annual Town-Meeting this Day, is the following Clause, viz. "Whether the Town will take any Measures that a public Monument may be erected on the Spot where the late Tragical Scene was acted, as a Memento to Posterity, of that horrid Massacre, and the Destructive Consequences of Military Troops being quartered in a well regulated City."

GOVERNOR HANCOCK.

John Hancock was one of the most popular Governors that Massachusetts ever had; born in Quincy, Mass., January 12, 1737, he graduated at Harvard in 1754. 'A merchant of Boston, and an heir to a large fortune, he speedily allied himself with those who were asserting the right of Colonial self-government independent of the British crown. Elected a member of the House of Representatives in 1766, he became "a bold assertor

of liberty," and was chosen President of the Provincial Congress in 1774, and in the following year to the same office in the Continental Congress; his well known signature heads the Declaration of Independence. So active was he in the cause of liberty that when Governor Gage offered in June, 1775, a free pardon to the "Colonial rebels," he and Samuel Adams were specially excepted. Having resigned his seat in the Continental Congress in October, 1777, on account of his health, he was chosen Governor of Massachusetts in 1780, and from that time until his death, October 8, 1793, with the exception of 1785 and 1786, he held that office by annual election.

His funeral took place on the 14th of October; as will be seen by the closing paragraph of the hand-bill (which is reprinted below from the original in the Society's collections), the procession moved from his late residence on Beacon street across the Common to Boylston street (then called Frog lane), to the "Liberty Pole," which stood on the site of the Liberty tree, nearly opposite the old Boylston Market on Washington street, — then generally known as "the Main street," along which it marched to the Old State House, passing around it, and then up Court street to the Granary Burying-ground. The Order of the Procession is given below, the general arrangement, capitalizing, punctuation and spelling having been carefully followed:—

Order of Proceffion,

for the FUNERAL of the late

GOVERNOR HANCOCK.

FUNERAL ESCORT,
Under the Command of
BRIGADIER-GENERAL HULL.

OFFICERS of the MILITIA with fide Arms,
JUSTICES of the PEACE,
JUDGES of PROBATE,
JUSTICES of the COURT of COMMON PLEAS,
ATTORNEY-GENERAL and TREASURER,
JUSTICES of the SUPREME JUDICIAL COURT,
MEMBERS of the HOUSE of REPRESENTATIVES,
MEMBERS of the SENATE,
SHERIFF of SUFFOLK, with his Wand,
MEMBERS of the COUNCIL,

Quarter M. Gen. } HIS HONOR THE
Adj. General. } LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, } Secretary.

Aid de Camp
to the deceased.

The Pall sup-
ported by



Six of the eldest
Counsellors.

Aid de Camp
to the deceased

RELATIONS.


VICE-PRESIDENT, and Members of CONGRESS,
JUDGES and SECRETARIES of the UNITED STATES,
Gentlemen heretofore Counsellors and Senators of Massachusetts,
Foreign MINISTERS and CONSULS,
The PRESIDENT and CORPORATION,
The Professors and other Instructors of HARVARD COLLEGE.
SELECTMEN and TOWN-CLERK,
OVERSEERS of the POOR and TOWN-TREASURER,
MINISTERS of the GOSPEL,
Members of the Ancient and Honourable ARTILLERY COMPANY.
Committee of Brattle-Street CHURCH, of which
the DECEASED was a Member.
other CITIZENS, and STRANGERS.



Order of March.

The Procession will move from the Mansion House of the late Governor HANCOCK, across the Common—and down Frog-Lane, to Liberty-Pole—through the Main-Street—and round the State-House—up Court-Street,—and from thence to the Place of Interment.

Colonel TYLER, will superintend the forming of the Procession of Officers which precede the Corps.—and Col. WATERS. that of the other Citizens who follow.

 *It is desired that the Procession may move four a breast, when practicable.*

The hand-bill which contains the Order is about eight by fifteen inches, and has a broad border of black.

NOTE.—Brigadier-General Hull, commanding the escort, was William Hull, afterwards Major-General in the Massachusetts militia; a soldier who had done gallant service in the Revolution, but whose surrender of

his little army at Detroit to Gen. Brock was punished in 1814, by sentence of death. The penalty was remitted by Pres. Madison (who had approved the sentence) in consideration of his age and Revolutionary service. His defence before the court-martial, subsequently published, and later investigations, have exonerated him from the charge of cowardice of which he was convicted. Of other prominent officials mentioned as taking part in the obsequies it may be noted that the Lieutenant-Governor, who preceded the body, was Hancock's old associate, Samuel Adams; he succeeded him as Governor, serving until 1797. Francis Dana was then Chief-Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court, and his associates were Increase Sumner, afterwards Governor, Robert Treat Paine, Nathan Cushing and Thomas Dawes, Jr. The Attorney General was James Sullivan, and the Treasurer, Thomas Davis. John Avery was Secretary of State, and Joseph Willard President of Harvard College. The Town of Boston had nine Selectmen and twelve Overseers of the Poor in 1793; their names and those of the other Town officials mentioned in the Programme are printed in the Thirty-first Report of the Record Commissioners, pp. 319, 321.

Action on the death of the Governor was taken in many places: the Town of Boston showed its respect for its fellow-citizen at a Town-meeting called for Friday, October 11, when

In order That every mark of Respect may be made by his *Fellow-Citizens* to the Remains of So Illustrious A Patriot and Friend to Manhood, [it was recommended to the] Inhabitants That they shut their Stores and Shops At One of the Clock P: M: on Monday Next and Continue the Same Shut until the funeral Solemnities shall be Performed . . . and the Public Bells to be Tolloed suitably On the Occasion.

The archives in the Adjutant General's office have preserved a record of the orders calling out the militia

of Boston and the neighboring towns, from which the following is taken :—

GEN. ORDERS, OCT. 9, 1793.

By the decease of His Excellency John Hancock Esquire, late Governor of this Commonwealth, on the eighth instant, the Chief Command of the Militia devolves upon His Honor Samuel Adams, Esquire, as Captain General, and by His Order military Honors will be paid the Deceased at the Funeral, which will take place on monday next precisely at three OClock in the afternoon. The Militia which will be required for the above purpose will consist of the following Viz.

All the Uniformed Infantry in Boston, together with the Light Infantry of the Sixth Regiment of the first Division. Such Uniformed Companies of Infantry of the Third Division as are most contiguous to Boston, not exceeding One hundred and twenty Rank and File. Two troops of Cavalry of the First Division, and one Troop of Cavalry of the third Division. The whole to be properly Officered, including three Field Officers from the First and One from the third Division. The several Corps which shall be thus detached, will assemble on the Common in Boston at twelve OClock at noon on the said day, and Brigadier General Hull of the third Division will take the command of the whole.

Major Generals Jackson and Brooks will Report to the Adjutant General the several descriptions of Corps which they shall detach in conformity to this Order, with the

number of Rank and File in each, and the names of the field Officers, in order that the Arrangement for the day may be made previously thereto

By order of the

CAPTAIN GENERAL.

WM. DONNISON, Adj. Gen.

A company of artillery from the First Division was detailed to fire minute guns "on signal," and the commandant of Castle Island was ordered to perform the same duty "during the passing of the funeral." The infantry were further ordered to provide themselves with blank cartridges for the customary volley at the grave.

Col. Tyler, who superintended "the forming of the Procession of Officers" assigned a place directly preceding the funeral car, was no doubt Col. John Steel Tyler, of Roxbury, Deputy Adjutant General of the First Division. He was a personal friend of Governor Hancock, and when Gen. Gage, appointed Governor by the King under the Second Charter, dismissed Hancock from his military command* in 1774, the Independent Company of Cadets returned the standard which bore the arms of Gage, and renounced their privileges as "the Governor's Company," whereupon Gage complained that "Hancock had used him ill," and had he

* He was commissioned Captain of the Cadets with full rank of Colonel by Gov. Hutchinson in May, 1772.

known of the intentions of the Cadets in season, he would have disbanded them. The archives in the Adjutant General's office show that soon after that event Tyler was one of the signers of a petition for the incorporation of the "Boston Independent Corps," "Maj. Gen. Hancock," so called in the State archives, being named as Colonel* and Tyler as Adjutant; he was later its Lieutenant Colonel, and served in the Revolution in the expedition to Rhode Island.

Col. Waters was no doubt Josiah Waters, who held various positions in Town affairs, and served on numerous committees; in 1798 he was living at 55 Newbury street, and is styled in the Directory "Inspector of Police."† Both on the Town Records and in the account of the funeral ceremonies printed in the *Columbian Centinel*, which calls him "Marshall of the Procession, who followed the corpse and preceded the Vice-President of the United States" (John Adams), he is styled Colonel, but no officer of that name is found on the roster of the State militia at the time of the funeral, in Fleet's Register, or among the officers of the Regular Army, and we have not found the reason for giving him the title.

* Previously to this time the Governor of the Colony was *ex-officio* Colonel of the Cadets, the immediate commander ranking as Lieutenant Colonel.

† "Col." Waters named on a Committee April 5, 1784; elected Fire-Ward, March 14, 1785, but declined; called "Officer of the Police," May 2, 1794. *Record Commissioners' Reports*, Vol. 31.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

There were two large Funeral Processions in Boston in honor of Washington. The Order of the first of these, which took place January 9, 1800, and the Programme of the services on that occasion, are printed below. The second was that conducted by the Masonic Fraternity on the 11th of February (Washington's Birthday, O. S.). This had been planned to move on February 22, but the date was anticipated because the United States Government and that of the Commonwealth had set apart the 22d to "testify the grief of all the citizens thereof," at his death. The Masonic Procession moved from the Old State House to the Old South Church, where the Hon. Timothy Bigelow pronounced the oration, Dr. Eckley offered prayer, and a birthday anniversary Ode, by Dr. Thaddeus M. Harris, and a Dirge by the same author, were sung, after which the procession marched to King's Chapel, where funeral rites were performed by the Rev. Dr. William Bentley, Grand Chaplain, assisted by the Rev. Dr. William Walter, who was for many years Rector of Trinity Church. The Brethren then returned to the Old State House and were dismissed. Upwards of sixteen hundred took part in this procession, Samuel Dunn, Grand Master, acting as chief mourner. The well-known Washington Medal, with the legend "HE IS IN GLORY, THE WORLD IN TEARS," was worn on this occasion by the Fraternity.

The programme of the Masonic Order of Services and of the Procession having been printed* need not be given here; the Order of the ceremonies on the earlier date follows:—

BOSTON, *January 6, 1800.*

THE *COMMITTEE* chosen by the TOWN to adopt such Measures as may indicate the PUBLIC SENSIBILITY on the late afflictive Event of the *DEATH* of

General GEORGE WASHINGTON,

Announce the following Arrangements, to be adopted on

THURSDAY, the Ninth Day of *January* inst.

Being the Day assigned for the Delivery of an EULOGIUM on the Occasion, at the Old South Meeting-House, by

GEORGE RICHARDS MINOT, ESQ.

Mourning.

THE Males to wear Crape or black Riband on the left Arm, above the Elbow.

THE Females to wear black Ribands.

THIS Mourning to commence on the said 9th of January, and to be continued until the 22d Day of February next.

THE Morn to be introduced by Minute Guns and the Tolling of Bells. Both to be continued at proper Intervals, through the Day.

* See Heard's History of Columbian Lodge, pp. 255 *et seq.*, for this Order, the Ode and Dirge, and extracts from Bigelow's Oration.

THE Colours of the Shipping, in the Harbour, to be hoisted at Half-Mast.

ALL Buifness to be suspended, and no Stores or Shops to be opened on that Day.

Order of Procession.

THE Male Youth of the Town, from Ten to Fourteen Years of Age, Eight a-breast, under the Conduct of their
several Instructors.

The Uniformed Companies of Militia, with Side Arms, conducted
by their respective Officers.

Military Escort.

Officers of the Militia; of the Army and Navy.

Committee of Arrangement and Selectmen.

Orator and Chaplain.

Sheriff of the County, with his Wand.

Lieutenant-Governor and Council.

President and Members of the Senate.

Speaker and Members of the House of Representatives.

Secretary, and Treafurer of the Commonwealth.

Judges of the Supreme and District Courts.

Reverend Clergy.

Federal Officers in the Civil Department.

Town and County Officers.

Physicians and Lawyers.

*Col. JOSEPH MAY, and Major ANDREW CUNNINGHAM, appointed
Marshals.*

The Commercial and Trading Interests, to be arranged by the
President and Officers of the Chamber of Commerce.

The Mechanic Interests, to be arranged by the President and
Trustees of the Mechanic Association.

Citizens,

Not enumerated in the foregoing Classes,

Six abreast.

THE Inhabitants are desired to meet at 11 o'Clock, A. M. at the New State House; as the Procession will move precisely at 12 o'Clock. It will pass through Common Street, Winter Street, Summer Street, Federal Street, Milk Street, Kilby and State Streets, passing the North Side of the Town House, through Cornhill, to the Old South Meeting-House.

Appropriation of the Old South Meeting-House.

THE Wall Pews on the Floor, and the lower East Gallery, for the Ladies.

Upper East Gallery, for the Youth.

Body Pews and Aisles, for the Procession.

Centre of front Gallery, for the Singers and Musick.

West Galleries and Remainder of the Front Gallery, for Citizens not otherwise accommodated.

THE *COMMITTEE* respectfully invite all Classes of their Fellow-Citizens to join in the proposed solemn Tribute to the illustrious MAN, whose Loss is so justly and universally deplored. They have taken every Measure in their Power, for the Preservation of good Order, and to promote public Convenience; but they rely, principally, on the Sentiment and Feeling of each Individual, to enforce the Necessity of that silent, dignified and

respectful Demeanour, which can alone do Justice to the Sensibility of the Inhabitants, in their Attempt to evidence their Respect for the Memory of the great, the good, and beloved
WASHINGTON.

By Order of the Committee,

Charles Bulfinch, Chairman.

☞ Should THURSDAY, the 9th instant, prove stormy, the whole Ceremony will be postponed until the next fair Day; to be announced by the Firing of Cannon, and the Ringing of Bells.

Order of Performances.

INSTRUMENTAL DIRGE.

PRAYER,

BY REV. DR. ECKLEY.

HYMN,

WRITTEN AT THE REQUEST OF THE COMMITTEE
OF ARRANGEMENTS,

BY REV. JOHN S. F. GARDNER.

AND is the illustrious Chieftain dead,
Awhile to favour'd mortals lent, not giv'n?
And has his fainted spirit fled,
And fought, in hallow'd hope, its native heaven?
*Yes, our sad fate we must deplore,
Columbia's Saviour is no more.*

2.

O! for a muse of fire, to sing
The various virtues of his matchless mind,
Which, borne on time's immortal wing,
Remotest ages shall unrivall'd find.

*Yes, our sad fate we must deplore,
Columbia's Saviour is no more.*

3.

When fell invasion shook our coast,
And menac'd all to freeborn spirits dear,
Columbia's consecrated host
The Hero led, and broke th' oppressor's spear.

*But now our fate we must deplore,
Columbia's Saviour is no more.*

4.

Still ardent in his Country's cause,
The Federal Triumph with his voice he seal'd
And Chief, and Guardian of the Laws,
Adorn'd the Council as he grac'd the Field:

*But now our fate we must deplore,
Columbia's Saviour is no more.*

5.

Clear intellect, of passion pure,
Each act declar'd him Wisdom's favourite child,
Columbia's safety to secure,
The bold he vanquish'd, and the insidious foil'd:

*But now our fate we must deplore,
Columbia's Hero is no more.*

6.

But shall our selfish sorrows flow,
 Whilst he, in heaven, midst fainted souls is blest?
 Shall we with unavailing woe
 Lament the Hero's everlasting rest?

*No, dry each tear, each grief remove,
 Great WASHINGTON is blest above.*

 E U L O G Y,

BY THE HON. *GEORGE RICHARDS MINOT*, ESQ.

 O D E.
RECITATIVE.

PEACE to his soul! the fatal hour is past,
 And silence o'er him has her mantle cast:
 His deeds, his virtues are enroll'd by Fame,
 Nor shall oblivion ever shroud his name.
 Then let Fraternal Love attune the lyre,
 And snatch a ray of Genius' sacred fire,
 Whilst the sad strain, in soft and solemn lays,
 Dwells on his merit, and records his praise.
 Let the full chord to yon blue arch arise,
 Our WASHINGTON'S translated to the skies.

AIR.

HOW happy he, who sinks to rest,
 By all regretted, lov'd and blest;
 For him th' afflicted melts in woe,
 For him the widow's tears will flow,
 For him the orphan's prayers shall rise,
 And waft his spirit to the skies.

To deck his grave, shall Virtue bring
The earliest tributes of the spring ;
And Friendship, weeping, shall repair,
To plant her mournful cypresses there ;
Whilst in our hearts we'll raise a tomb,
Round which immortal wreaths shall bloom.

INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC.

TO CONCLUDE WITH THE FOLLOWING LINES,
SET TO MUSIC BY MR. *HOLDEN*.

FROM *Vernon's* Mount behold the Hero rise !
Resplendent forms attend him through the skies !
The shades of war-worn veterans round him throng,
And lead, enwrapt, their honour'd Chief along !
A laurel wreath th' immortal WARREN bears,
An arch triumphal MERCER'S hand prepares ;
Young LAURENCE, erst th' avenging bolt of war,
With port majestic guides the glittering car ;
MONTGOMERY'S godlike form directs the way,
And GREENE unfolds the gates of endless day ;
While Angels, " trumpet-tongued," proclaim through air,
" Due honours for the FIRST OF MEN prepare."

NOTE.— It will be observed that in the Order of Procession above there is no position assigned to the Governor of the Commonwealth. Hon. Increase Sumner, who had been chosen at the previous election, died on the 7th of June, 1799, whereupon Moses Gill, the Lieutenant-Governor, became Acting Governor. It is remarkable that Gov. Gill also died a few months later (May 20, 1800), and before the expiration of his term of office ; the Commonwealth, for the first time under the

Constitution, was therefore without a Governor and Lieutenant-Governor for ten days, or until May 30, 1800, when Caleb Strong was inaugurated. During the interim the executive authority was vested in the Governor's Council, Hon. Thomas Dawes, President; he was present in the Procession with the Council. Of the other officials Samuel Phillips was President of the Senate, and Edward H. Robbins, Speaker of the House; John Avery was Secretary, and Peleg Coffin, Treasurer, of the Commonwealth. The Judges of the Supreme Court were Francis Dana, Chief Justice, Robert Treat Paine, Nathan Cushing, Thomas Dawes, Jr. (so styled in the State Archives) and Theophilus Bradbury.

Of those named in the Programme the Rev. Joseph Eckley, D.D., who offered prayer, was a graduate of the College of New Jersey (Princeton), in 1772; he was the minister of the Old South Church 1778-1811. The Rev. John Sylvester John Gardner, D. D., was the Assistant Minister of Trinity Church at the time of the funeral, and its Rector 1805-30. Oliver Holden, whose Organ is one of the treasures in the Society's collections, was the composer of "Coronation" and other well known tunes.

The "war-veterans" named in the closing lines are Joseph Warren, Hugh Mercer, Richard Montgomery and Nathaniel Greene. "Young Laurence" (an error for Laurens), was no doubt Col. John Laurens, who was one of Washington's aides, and who fell in battle in South Carolina in 1782, at the early age of twenty-six.

Hon. George Richards Minot, the orator of the day, was born in Boston, Dec. 22, 1756; a "shining scholar" at the Boston Latin School, he graduated at Harvard in 1778, where he received the highest honors. He was Secretary of the Massachusetts State Convention (of which Hancock was President) which adopted the Federal Constitution; a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and other societies; Judge of Probate 1792-

1800, in which year he was appointed the first Judge of the Municipal Court, and held that office until his death in 1802. He resided on the corner of Devonshire street and Spring Lane, on which stands the building which bears his name. In his family tomb, which adjoined that of Gov. Hancock, in the Granary Burying-ground, the remains of Joseph Warren were placed when brought from Bunker Hill. In 1782 Judge Minot delivered the Oration on the Anniversary of the Boston Massacre. His Eulogium on Washington, prepared with but ten days' notice, produced a profound impression. An excellent sketch of his life, in which is given his own account of his emotions on that occasion, will be found in Loring's "Hundred Boston Orators," pp. 146 *et seq.*

The Boston *Chronicle* has a very full account of the Procession, some of the prominent features of which may be of interest. The military bodies taking part were the Cadets, Capt. Amory's company of cavalry, who marched dismounted, followed by six uniformed militia companies under their commanders, Capts. Daniel Sargent and John Brazer, of the Light Infantry; Asa Hatch, Wm. Williams and Sam'l Harris of the Legionary Brigade, and Oliver Johonnot, of the Artillery of the First Division. These were followed by the Order of the Cincinnati, one of the members bearing a standard used in the siege of Yorktown. "It was a pleasing circumstance" says our authority, that "as the procession passed the house of *the proscribed* SAMUEL

ADAMS," the standard bearer with this relic of Washington's final achievement, "paid that respect to the aged patriot which naturally inspir'd the souls of veterans on observing THE MAN, whose magnanimity and stern virtues in Congress animated the American army with patriotic enthusiasm, and gave energy to WASHINGTON and the band of heroes under his command."

In the "Commercial interests" appeared the Boston Marine Society, in whose badge of crape "a white anchor was worked." In the "Mechanic interests" forty-six trades, each with its distinguishing banner, took part, to the number of 2,500. "Conceiving it impossible that so large a body could be accommodated with seats in the Meeting-house, to hear the Eulogium," this body of citizens "took up a second line of march, through the town." With bands of music they moved through Milk street, Quaker Lane (now Congress street), into Court, Hanover and Middle (then a part of Hanover) streets to the Ferry, thence into Fore street (part of North street), through Ann street (North street), and Merchants' Row into State street where they were dismissed.

"The Military Honors were performed with professional exactness. The salutes were made by Capt. Gardner's Artillery from brass twelve-pounders." The Town Records of Boston tell us that "Upon Application from the Marshalls appointed by the Committee of Legislature to arrange the ceremonies. . . . Voted That the Bells of the several Churches in the Town be tolled

on the 8th Inf^t. as requested, at the expence of the State."

A similar request made by the officers of the Grand Lodge of Masons was also granted.

The Marshals were Col. Joseph May, a Boston merchant, whose home was on the corner of Milk and Atkinson (now Congress) streets. His name frequently appears in the Records as serving on various committees; he is called Captain in 1792, and several years was a Fire Ward; with him was associated Major Andrew Cunningham, who was Deputy Quartermaster General of the First Division of Militia. He was in the insurance business, for many years a Fire Ward, and resided on Newbury street, later a part of Washington street.



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